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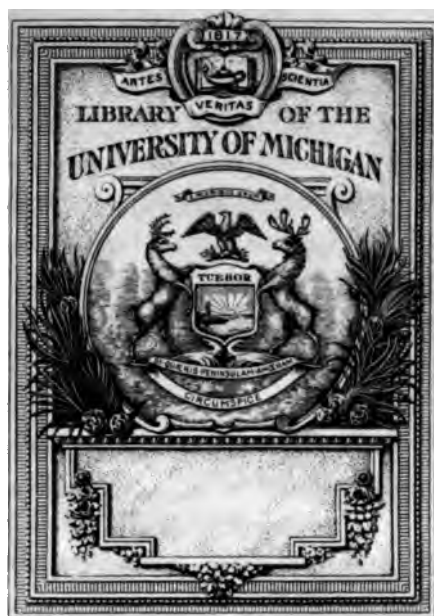
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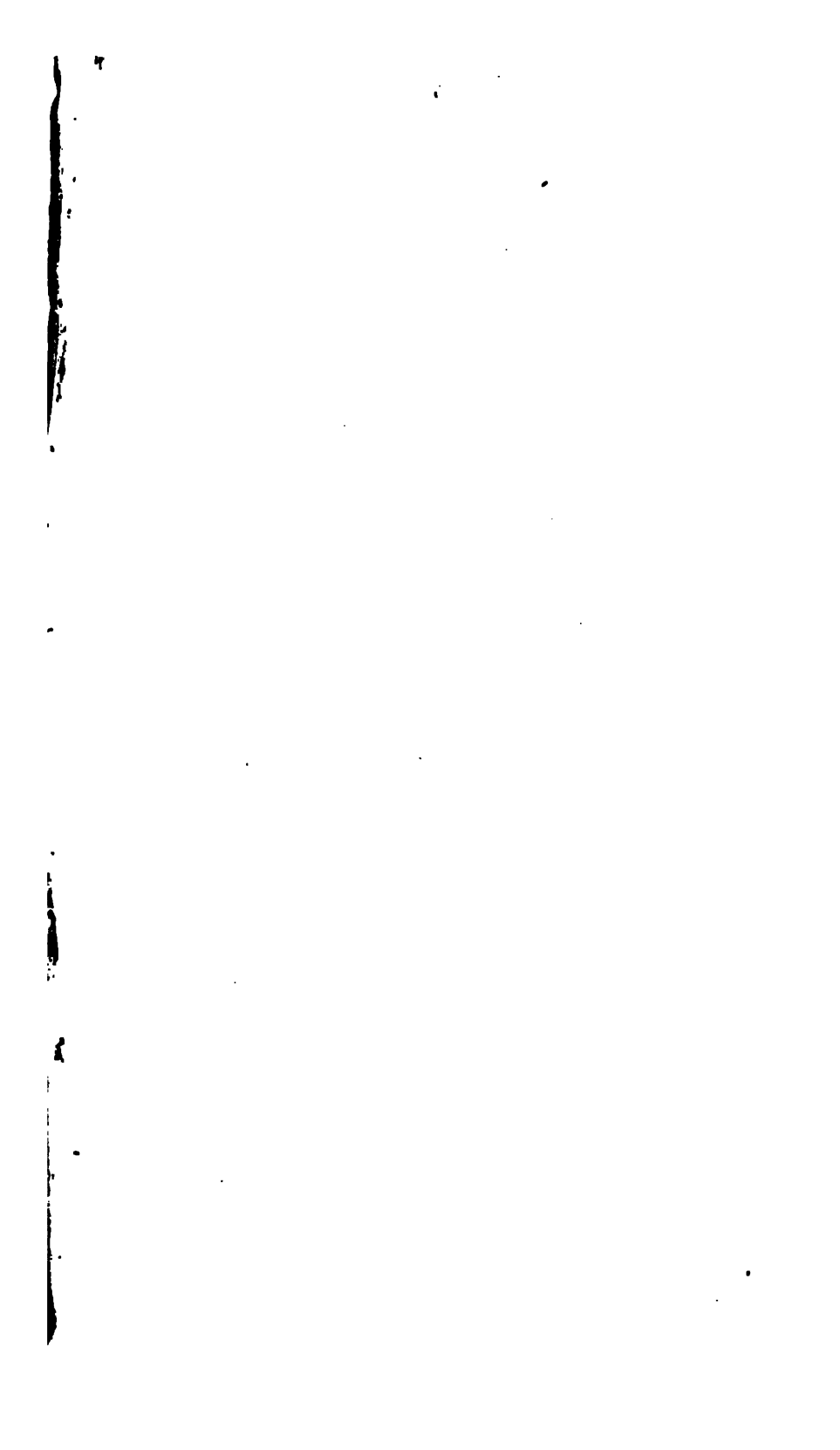
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**THE LIFE,**  
**EXILE,**  
**AND**  
**CONVERSATIONS**  
**OF THE**  
**EMPEROR NAPOLEON.**

**BY**  
**THE COUNT DE LAS CASES.**

**WITH PORTRAITS AND NUMEROUS OTHER EMBELLISHMENTS.**

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**VOL. IV.**

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**LONDON :**  
**PUBLISHED FOR HENRY COLBURN,**  
**BY R. BENTLEY ; BELL AND BRADFUTE, EDINBURGH ; JOHN**  
**CUMMING, DUBLIN ; AND ALL BOOKSELLERS.**  
**1835.**



10-12

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## ERRATA.

Page 78. line 14. After the word *fortune*, read,—“ Caroline possesses great  
“ talents and capacity.

Page 98. line 6. After *system*, read,—“ After the treaty of Amiens, by which  
“ France regained her Indian possessions, I had this  
“ grand question thoroughly discussed before me, and at  
“ great length; I heard both statesmen and commercial  
“ men; and my final opinion was in favour of free trade,  
“ and against companies.

Page 232. Omit line 18.

MY RESIDENCE  
WITH  
THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON  
AT ST. HELENA.

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*Napoleon's Views and Intentions with respect to the Russian War.—Official Instructions.*

FRIDAY, Oct. 25, 1816.—I attended the Emperor at his toilette. The weather was tolerably fine, and he went out, and walked as far as the wood. He was very feeble ; for it was now ten days since he had stirred out. He felt a weakness in his knees ; and remarked, that he should soon be obliged to lean on me for support.

\* The calash now came up with us. It was driven, four-in-hand, by Archambaud ; for no other arrangement had been made since the departure of his brother. At first, the Emperor declined getting into it ; he did not think it safe to drive in this way, among so many trunks of trees.

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\* I think it proper to repeat here, in their right place, the three paragraphs which were erroneously inserted at the conclusion of the preceding day. See Part VI.

VOL. IV. Part VII.



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“ to occupy the throne. I had no wish to obtain  
“ any new acquisition ; and I reserved to myself  
“ only the glory of doing good, and the blessings  
“ of posterity. Yet this undertaking failed, and  
“ proved my ruin, though I never acted more  
“ disinterestedly, and never better merited suc-  
“ cess. As if popular opinion had been seized  
“ with contagion, in a moment, a general outcry,  
“ a general sentiment, arose against me. I was  
“ proclaimed to be the destroyer of kings ; I, who  
“ had created them ! I was denounced as the  
“ subverter of the rights of nations ; I, who was  
“ about to risk all to secure them ! And people  
“ and kings, those irreconcilable enemies, leagued  
“ together and conspired against me ! All the  
“ acts of my past life were now forgotten. I said  
“ truly, that popular favour would return to me  
“ with victory ; but victory escaped me, and I was  
“ ruined. Such is mankind, and such is my his-  
“ tory ; but both people and kings will have cause  
“ to regret me ; and my memory will be suffi-  
“ ciently avenged for the injustice committed  
“ upon me : that is certain.”

N. B.—If certain passages in the above conversation of Napoleon should require illustration or proof, these will be found in the following letter. The document is highly valuable on account of its date and contents ; for the motives and views of the Russian expedition are here developed by Napoleon at the moment when he was about to

embark in the enterprise. The vulgar were certainly far from comprehending or rendering justice to his intentions ; I say the vulgar, for it is just to remark, that among statesmen and men of foresight and extended views, the Russian war was very popular. They disapproved of the moment at which it was undertaken ; but they fully appreciated all the great intentions of the Emperor.

*Instructions given to M. . . ., to serve as his Guide in the Mission which he will have to fulfil in Poland. (April 18, 1812.)*

“ SIR,—The high opinion which the Emperor entertains of your fidelity and talent, induces him to advance you so far in his confidence, as to intrust you with a mission of the utmost political interest. This mission will require *activity, prudence, and discretion.*

“ You are to proceed to Dresden. The ostensible object of your journey will be to present to the King of Saxony a letter, which the Emperor will deliver to you to-morrow after his levee. His Imperial and Royal Majesty, has already acquainted you with his intentions ; he will communicate to you, verbally, his final instructions respecting the overtures which you are to make to the King of Saxony.

“ It is the Emperor's intention that the King of Saxony should be treated with all the consideration to which he is entitled, from the particular

esteem which his Majesty entertains for him personally. You will explain yourself both to the King and his Ministers, with unreserved candour; and you will give credit to the hints you may receive from the Count de St. Pilsac.

“ With respect to Saxony, there will be *no sacrifice without compensation*.

“ Saxony can attach but little importance to the sovereignty of the Duchy of Warsaw, such as it now exists: it is a precarious and troublesome possession. The sovereignty of that fragment of Poland, places Saxony in a false position with regard to Prussia, Austria, and Russia. You will develop these ideas, and treat this question in the way in which it was discussed in your presence, in his Majesty’s closet, on the 17th. You will find the Dresden cabinet not much inclined to oppose you; its diplomacy has presented to us the same observations, on several previous occasions. The matter in question is not the dismemberment of the states of the King of Saxony.

“ After a short stay at Dresden, you will announce your departure for Warsaw; *where you will await new orders from the Emperor*.

“ His Imperial Majesty begs that the King of Saxony will accredit you to his Polish Ministry.

“ At Warsaw, you will concert your measures with Prince . . ., the Emperor’s chamberlain, and with General . . . . These two individuals, who are descended from the most illustrious Polish



families, have promised to exercise the influence they possess among their fellow citizens, to induce them to exert every effort for securing the happiness and independence of their country. You must communicate to the government of the Grand Duchy, an impulse calculated to prepare the great changes which the Emperor proposed to make in favour of the Polish nation.

“ It is necessary that the Poles should second the designs of the Emperor, and co-operate in their own regeneration. *They must consider France only as an auxiliary power.*

“ The Emperor is aware of the difficulties he will have to encounter, in his endeavours to bring about the re-establishment of Poland. That great political work will oppose the *apparent and immediate interests of his allies.*

“ The re-establishment of Poland, by the arms of the French Empire, is a hazardous and even a perilous enterprize, in which France will have to contend against her friends, as well as her enemies. We will enter into a few details on this point.

“ The object which the Emperor has in view, is the organization of Poland, *with the whole or a portion of her old territory*; and he wishes, if possible, to effect this object without engaging in war. In furtherance of this design, his Majesty has granted very extensive powers to his ambassador at St. Petersburg: he has sent to Vienna a negotia-

tor, authorized to treat with the principal powers, and to offer great sacrifices in territory, on the part of the French Empire, *by way of indemnity for the cessions to be made for the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland.*

“Europe is separated into three great divisions : in the west, the French Empire ; in the centre, the German States ; and in the east, the Russian Empire. England can only possess, on the Continent, the interest which the Powers are willing to reserve to her.

“A strong organization of the centre will be necessary, as a precautionary measure, lest Russia or France should one day be tempted to extend their power, and to attempt to gain the supremacy in Europe. The French Empire is now in the enjoyment of the full energy of her existence : if she do not, at this moment, complete the political constitution of Europe, to-morrow she may lose the advantages of her situation, and fail in her enterprises.

“The conversion of Prussia into a military state, the reign and conquests of Frederick the Great, the opinions of the age, and those of the French revolution, have annihilated the Germanic Confederation. The Confederation of the Rhine, is only part of a provisional system. The Princes who have been gainers, would probably wish for the consolidation of that system ; but those who have been losers, and the people who have suffered

from the calamities of war, and the states who dread the too great increase of the French power, will seize every opportunity of opposing the maintenance of the Rhinish confederation. Even the Princes who have been aggrandized by the new system, will seek to withdraw themselves from it, as soon as time shall establish them in the possessions they have obtained. France will, in the end, find herself deprived of a protectorate, which, certainly, she will have purchased by too many sacrifices.

“ The Emperor is of opinion, that ultimately, at a period which cannot be far distant, it will be proper to restore the states of Europe to their complete independence.

“ The house of Austria, which possesses three vast kingdoms, must be the soul of this independence, on account of the topographical situation of its States; but it must not be the ruling power. In case of a rupture between the two Empires of France and Russia, if the confederation of the intermediate powers were actuated by one and the same impulse, the ruin of one of the contending parties would necessarily ensue. The French Empire would be more exposed to danger than the Russian Empire.

“ The centre of Europe must be composed of states unequal in power, and each possessing its own peculiar system of policy. These states, from their situation and political relations, will seek

support in the protection of the preponderating powers; and they will be interested in the maintenance of peace, because they must always be the victims of war. With these views, after raising up new states and aggrandizing old ones, in order to fortify our system of alliance for the future, the establishment of Poland is an object, of the utmost interest to the Emperor and to Europe. If the Kingdom of Poland be not restored, Europe will be without a frontier on that point; and Austria and Germany will be face to face, with the most powerful Empire in the world.

“The Emperor foresees, that Poland, like Prussia, will ultimately become the ally of Russia; but, if Poland should owe her restoration to France, the period of the union of the above-mentioned states will be sufficiently remote to afford time for the consolidation of the established order of things. Europe being thus organized, there will no longer be any cause of rivalry between France and Russia: these two Empires will have the same commercial interests, and will act in conformity with the same principles.

“Before the coolness with Prussia, the Emperor’s first intention was to form a solid alliance with the King of Prussia, and to place the crown of Poland on his head. There were then few obstacles to be surmounted: for Prussia was already in possession of one third of Poland; Russia would have been left in possession of what she

might have insisted on retaining ; and indemnities would have been granted to Austria. But the progress of events occasioned the Emperor to alter his intentions.

“ At the time of the negotiations of Tilsit, it was found necessary to create states precisely in those countries which most dreaded the power of France. The moment was favourable for the re-establishment of Poland, though it would have been the work of violence and force. The war must have been prolonged ; the French army was suffering from cold and want ; and Russia had armies on foot. The Emperor was touched by the generous sentiments which the Emperor Alexander manifested towards him. He experienced obstacles on the part of Austria ; and he suffered his policy to be overruled by the desire of signing a peace, which he hoped to have rendered lasting, if, through the influence of Russia and Austria, England had been prevailed on to consent to a general reconciliation.

“ Prussia, after her reverses, manifested such a spirit of hatred towards France, that it was deemed necessary to diminish her power. With this view, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was created. It was placed under the dominion of the King of Saxony, a prince, whose whole life had been devoted to the happiness of his subjects. Endeavours were made to conciliate the Poles, by the establishment of institutions agreeable to their tastes, and conform-

able with their manners and national character. But all was badly managed.

“ Saxony, separated from her new possessions by Prussia, could not, with Poland, constitute a body sufficiently organized to become strong and powerful. The opening of a military road through the Prussian territory, to communicate between Saxony and Poland, greatly humbled the Prussians ; and the Poles complained of disappointed hopes.

“ The Emperor stipulated for the occupation of the fortresses of Prussia, in order to ensure the certainty that that power would not seek to rekindle the torch of war. The campaign of 1809, proved the prudence of his policy. He adopted the firm resolution of labouring unremittingly to complete the system of organization in Europe, which was calculated to put a period to disastrous wars.

“ The Emperor conceived that he must appear formidable, from the number of troops which he has marched towards the Vistula, and from the occupation of the fortresses of Prussia ; measures which were necessary for ensuring the fidelity of his allies, and obtaining, by means of negotiations, what, perhaps, he can, after all, secure only by war.

“ The dangers of the present circumstances are immense. The removal of armies to the distance of five hundred leagues from their native territory, cannot be unattended by risk ; and Poland must

rely as much on her own exertions as on the support of the Emperor. I once more repeat, that if war should ensue, the Poles must consider France only as an auxiliary, operating in aid of their own resources. Let them call to mind the time, when, by their patriotism and courage, they resisted the numerous armies who assailed their independence.

“ The people of the Grand Duchy wish for the re-establishment of Poland ; it is for them to prepare the means by which the usurped provinces may be enabled to declare their wishes. The government of the Grand Duchy must, as soon as circumstances permit, combine, under the banner of independence, the dismembered fragments of their unfortunate country. Should it happen that any natives of Poland, under the dominion of Russia or Austria, shall refuse to return to the mother country, no attempt must be made to compel them to do so. Poland must derive her strength from her public spirit and patriotism, as well as from the institutions which will constitute the new social state.

“ The object of your mission, therefore, is, to enlighten, encourage, and direct the Polish patriots in their operations. You will render an account of your negotiations to the minister for foreign affairs, who will acquaint the Emperor with your progress ; and you will send me abstracts of your reports.

“ The misfortunes and weakness of the Polish republic, were occasioned by an aristocracy, which knew neither law nor restraint. At that period, as at present, the nobility were powerful; the citizens oppressed; and the great mass of the people were nothing. But even amidst these disorders, a love of liberty and independence prevailed in Poland, and long supported her feeble existence. These sentiments must have been strengthened by time and oppression. Patriotism is a sentiment natural to the Poles; it exists even among members of the great families. The Emperor will fulfil, unconditionally, the promise he made, in Art. 25. of the treaty of the 9th of July, 1807, to govern the Grand Duchy by laws calculated to ensure the liberty and privileges of the people, and consistent with the tranquillity of the neighbouring states. Poland shall enjoy *liberty and independence*. As to the choice of her sovereign, that point will be decided by the treaty, which his Majesty will sign with the other powers. His Majesty lays no claim to the throne of Poland, either for himself or any of his family. In the great work of the restoration of Poland, he has only in view the happiness of the Poles, and the tranquillity of Europe. His Majesty authorizes you to make this declaration; and to make it formally, whenever you conceive it may be useful for the interests of France and Poland.

“ His Majesty has ordered me to transmit to you



this note, and these instructions, in order that you may make them the subjects of conversation with the foreign ministers, who may be at Warsaw or Dresden.

“The Emperor has ordered notes to be forwarded to the ministers of war and foreign affairs, of the Grand Duchy. Should pecuniary resources be wanted, his Majesty will assist the Polish treasury, by assignments on the extraordinary domains, which he still possesses in Poland and Hanover.”

*The Emperor indisposed.—Anecdotes of the Interior of the Tuileries.*

26th.—I was informed that the Emperor was very unwell, and that he desired I would attend him. I found him in his chamber, with a handkerchief rolled round his head; he was seated in an arm chair, beside a great fire, which he had ordered to be kindled. “What,” said he, “is the severest disorder, the most acute pain, to which human nature is subject?” I replied, “That the pain of the present moment always appeared to be the most severe.” “Then it is the tooth-ache,” said he. He had a violent secretion of saliva, and his right cheek was much swelled and inflamed. I was alone in attendance on him, and I alternately warmed a flannel and a napkin, which he kept constantly applied to the part affected, and he said he felt greatly relieved by it. He was

also affected by a severe nervous cough, and occasional yawning and shivering, which denoted approaching fever.

“What a miserable thing is man,” said he, “the smallest fibre in his body, assailed by disease, is sufficient to derange his whole system! On the other hand, in spite of all the maladies to which he is subject, it is sometimes necessary to employ the executioner to put an end to him. What a curious machine is this earthly clothing! And, perhaps, I may be confined in it for thirty years longer!”

He attributed his toothache to his late drive, as he had felt singularly affected by being out in the open air. “Nature is always the best counsellor,” said he; “I went out in spite of my inclination, and only in obedience to reason.”

The Doctor arrived, and he found that his patient manifested symptoms of fever. The Emperor spent the remainder of the day in his chamber, occasionally suffering severely from the toothache. At intervals, when the pain abated, he walked up and down, between his arm chair and the sofa, and conversed on different subjects.

At one time, he alluded to the base conduct of some of the individuals who had been about him, during his power. A family, who were established in the interior of the palace, who had been loaded with benefits, and who, it may be added, behaved most disgracefully at the period of the catastrophe,

were one day detected in some offence or other by the Emperor himself. He merely reproached them with their misconduct, instead of punishing them for it. "But what was the consequence," said he, "this only served to irritate them, without affording a just example. When things are done by halves, they will always prove ineffectual. The fault must not be seen; or if seen, it must be punished," &c.

He next mentioned a woman, who, together with her husband, held a very lucrative situation, and who was constantly complaining to him of her poverty. "She often wrote to me," said the Emperor, "to ask for money, as though she had claims upon me; just as Madame Bertrand or any of you might do, on your return from St. Helena."

Alluding to an individual who had behaved very ill to him in 1814, he said; "Probably you will suppose he fled on my return? But no such thing; on the contrary, I was beset by him. He very coolly acknowledged, that he had felt a transient attachment for the Bourbons, for which, however, he assured me, he had been heartily punished. But this, he said, had served only to revive the natural affection which all so justly entertained for me. I spurned him from me; and I have good reason to believe, that he is now at the feet of the Royal family, relating all sorts of

"horrors about me. . . . . Man is always and  
"every where alike!"

Finally, he mentioned a most infamous intrigue, which was set on foot by persons on whom he had lavished favours. These individuals endeavoured to prevail on the Empress Josephine, to sign a most degrading letter, under pretence of securing her a tranquil residence in France, but doubtless with the real purpose of gaining credit to themselves in another quarter. The letter which was to have been addressed to the King, contained a disavowal of all that she had formerly been, and what she still was, together with a request that the King would provide for her as he pleased, &c. The Empress wept, and resisted the importunity, asked for time, and consulted the Emperor Alexander, who told her that such a letter would utterly disgrace her. He advised her to dismiss the meddling intriguers by whom she was surrounded; assured her that there was no intention of removing her from France, or disturbing her quiet in any way; and promised to be responsible for her himself in case of necessity.

In the evening, the Emperor felt better, and he enjoyed a little sleep. His countenance bore evident marks of the severe pain he had suffered.

*The Emperor continues indisposed.—Immorality the worst Fault in a Sovereign.*

27th.—The Emperor passed the whole day beside the fire, sometimes reclining on his couch, and sometimes sitting in his arm chair. He still suffered very much from the pain in his head and tooth-ache, and the secretion of saliva had not diminished. He again had recourse to warm flannel and napkins, by the use of which, he had yesterday experienced a little relief. I warmed them, and applied them in the same manner as before. The Emperor appeared very sensible to the attentions I shewed him, and several times laying his hand on my shoulder, he said, "My dear Las Cases, you relieve me very much!" The pain subsided, and he slept for a short time; then raising his eyes, he said to me, "Have I been long asleep? Are you not very much fatigued?" He called me his *frère hospitalier*, the knight of Malta of St. Helena. But the pain soon returned with violence, and he sent for the Doctor, who found him feverish. He was seized with the chilliness which had attacked him on the preceding day, and which obliged him to keep close to the fire.

He continued in the same state throughout the whole of the evening. About seven o'clock, he proposed going to bed. He would not eat any-

thing; but he ordered his valet de chambre, to toast some bread, and he himself made a little toast and water, in which he put some sugar and orange flowers.

In the course of the evening's conversation, the following remarks fell from the Emperor. "Im-morality," said he, "is beyond a doubt, the worst of all faults in a sovereign; because he introduces it as a fashion among his subjects, by whom it is practised for the sake of pleasing him. It strengthens every vice, blights every virtue, and infects all society like a pestilence; in short, it is a nation's scourge. Public morality, on the contrary, added he, is the natural complement of the laws: it is a whole code in itself." He declared that the revolution, in spite of all its horrors, had nevertheless been the true cause of the regeneration of morals in France, "as the noblest vegetation is the offspring of the filthiest manure." He did not hesitate to affirm, that his government would mark the memorable epoch of the return to morality. "We advanced at full sail," said he; "but, doubtless, the catastrophes which have ensued, will in a great measure turn all back; for amidst so many vicissitudes and disorders, it is difficult to resist the various temptations that arise, the allurements of intrigue and cupidity, and the suggestions of venality. However, the rising impulse of improvement may be impeded and repressed, but

“ not destroyed. Public morality belongs especially to the dominion of reason and information, of which it is the natural result; and reason and information cannot again retrograde. The scandalous turpitude of former ages, the adultery and libertinism of the Regency, and the profligacy of the reign which succeeded it, cannot again be revived, unless the circumstances under which they existed should again return; and that is impossible. Before such a change can take place, the upper classes of society must again degenerate to a state of absolute idleness, so as to have no other occupation than licentiousness; the spirit of industry which now animates and elevates the minds of people in the middle ranks, must be destroyed; and finally, the lower classes must replunge into that state of subjection and degradation which once reduced them to the level of mere beasts of burden. Now, all this is henceforth impossible: public morals are, therefore, on the rise; and it may be safely predicted, that they will gradually improve all over the world.”

About nine o'clock, after the Emperor had retired to bed, he desired that all his suite might come to his apartment. The Grand Marshal and his lady were among the number. The Emperor conversed with us for half an hour; the curtains being drawn round his bed.

*The Emperor still unwell.—Want of Medicines.—Servan's  
Guerres d'Italie.—Madame de Montesson.*

28th.—When I arose in the morning I felt ill, and wished to bathe my feet; but no water could be procured for that purpose. I mention this circumstance to afford an idea, if possible, of our real situation at Longwood. Water has always been very scarce here; but there is now less than ever, and we consider ourselves singularly fortunate when we are able to procure a bath for the Emperor. We are no better provided with other things necessary in medical treatment. Yesterday, the Doctor was mentioning in the Emperor's presence, drugs, instruments and remedies of various kinds; but, as he enumerated each article, he added; "Unfortunately, there is none to be procured on the Island."—"Then," said the Emperor, "when they sent us here, they took it for granted that we should be always well?" Indeed we are in want of the veriest trifles and necessaries. As a substitute for a warming pan, the Emperor has been obliged to have holes bored in one of the large silver dishes, used for keeping the meat warm at table, which is now filled with coals, and used for the purpose of warming his bed. For some time past, he has very much felt the want of spirits of wine, by means of which, he might have been enabled to warm his drink.



The Emperor has continued unwell the whole of the day: his face is still very much swelled, but the pain has somewhat abated. On entering his chamber, I found him sitting by the fire, reading the *Guerres d'Italie*, by Servan. The work suggested to him, the idea of some additions to our valuable chapters on Italy. He ordered the map to be brought to him. I was very much surprised to find, that the author, in descending to our own times, and narrating the campaigns of the Emperor himself, was exceedingly imperfect in his descriptions, and seemed to be unacquainted with the country about which he wrote. "This," said the Emperor, "is because he passed on, without observing; and, perhaps he would not have been capable of understanding, even had he observed. But the true spirit of great enterprises and great results, consists in the art of divining even without seeing."

The Emperor found himself obliged to retire to bed, as early as he did yesterday. He felt chilly, and seemed to be threatened with another attack of fever; he also felt symptoms of cramp. A little soup was the only nourishment he had taken since yesterday. He complained that his bed was badly made, and that every thing seemed to go wrong; the bed clothes were not arranged as he wished, and he ordered them to be spread out differently. He remarked that all who surrounded him, had calculated on his preserving

his health, and that they would certainly be very inexperienced and awkward, should he happen to be attacked with a serious fit of illness.

He ordered some tea to be made of orange tree leaves, for which he had to wait a considerable time. During the delay, he evinced a degree of patience, of which I should certainly have been incapable.

He conversed, when in bed, of the early years of his life which he spent at Brienne, of the Duke of Orleans, and Madame de Montesson, whom he recollected having seen. He spoke also of the families of Nogent and Brienne, who were connected with the circumstances of his youth.

“ When I was raised to the head of the government,” said Napoleon, “ Madame de Montesson “ applied to me for permission to take the title of “ Duchess of Orleans, which appeared to me an “ extremely ridiculous request.” The Emperor had supposed she was only the mistress of the prince ; but I assured him, that she had really been married to the Duke, with the consent of Louis XVI., and that after the death of her husband, she always signed herself the Duchess Dowager of Orleans. The Emperor said he had been ignorant of that circumstance. “ But, at all events,” said he, “ what “ had the First Consul to do with the business ? “ This was always my answer to the persons “ interested in the case, who were, however, not “ much satisfied with me. But was it to be

“ expected that I should adopt, immediately, all  
“ the irregularities and absurdities of the old  
“ school?”

*The Emperor still indisposed.—Characteristic Circumstances.*

29th.—My son was ill, and I was myself by no means well, being still troubled with restlessness during the night. The Doctor came to see us. He informed me, that the Emperor was better; but that he did wrong in refusing to take medicine.

The Emperor did not send for me until five o'clock. He still complained of a violent pain in his head. He had his feet in water, and he experienced a little relief from this kind of half bath. He lay down on the sofa, and took up the Memoires of Noailles, from which he read aloud several passages, concerning the Duke de Vendome, the siege of Lille, and some others concerning the Duke of Berwick; all of which he accompanied by remarks in his own style,—novel, original, and striking. I very much regret that I am unable to record them here; but, as I had not made a fair copy of these latter sheets of my journal, when the manuscript was seized, I have now only the assistance of memoranda, frequently referring to circumstances which time has obliterated from my recollection.

The Emperor, observing on his drawers some confectionary, or sweetmeats, which had been ac-

cidentally left there, he desired me to bring them to him ; and seeing that I hesitated, and felt embarrassed, as to how I should present them, he said, " Take them in your hand ; there is no need of ceremony or form between us now ; we must henceforth be messmates." Though this is a trifling circumstance, yet, to some, it will develope, more forcibly than volumes of description, the real turn of mind, character, and disposition, of the extraordinary individual to whom it relates ; for men of judgment and observation will perceive, and draw conclusions, when others would not even form an idea. This consideration has induced me to insert in these volumes many things which I had originally intended to reject, through the fear that they might be thought insignificant, or, at all events, useless.

I have already mentioned, that in his moments of good humoured familiarity, the Emperor was accustomed to salute me with all sorts of titles, such as " Good morning, *Monseigneur* ; How is *your Excellency* ?" &c. One evening, when I was about to enter the drawing-room, the usher opened the door for me, and, at the same moment, the door of the Emperor's apartment also opened, and he came out. We both met together ; and, in a fit of abstraction, he stopped me, and seizing me by the ear, said, playfully, " Well ; where is *your Majesty* going ?" But the words had no sooner been uttered, than he immediately let go my ear,

and, assuming a grave expression of countenance, he began to talk to me on some serious topic. I had, it is true, learned to close my ears when it was necessary ; but the Emperor was evidently sorry for having suffered the expression, *your Majesty*, to escape him. He seemed to think, that though other titles might be used in jest, yet the case was very different with the one he had just employed ; both on account of its own peculiar nature, and the circumstances in which we were placed. Be this as it may, the reader may form what conjecture he pleases ; I merely relate the fact.

After dinner, the Emperor received all his suite in his chamber. He was in bed ; and he began to talk of the little faith he placed in the virtue of medicine. He observed, that he used to support his opinions, on this subject, with such strong arguments, that Corvisart, and other celebrated physicians, could but feebly refute him, and seemed to oppose him merely for the sake of maintaining the honour of the profession.

*The Emperor's fifth Day of Confinement.—Anecdote of an unpaid Bill.—On Unpopularity.*

30th.—The Emperor was no better to-day ; and his periodical attack of fever returned at the usual hour. He was troubled with pimples on his lips and in his mouth, together with a sore throat, so that he felt pain in speaking, and even in swallowing. When the Doctor came in the even-

ing, he brought with him a gargle for the Emperor's throat ; but it was with difficulty we prevailed on him to use it. There is no oil to be procured, fit for the Emperor's use—it is execrable ; and he is very fastidious.

In the course of conversation to-day, the Emperor, in alluding to the extravagance and debts of Josephine, mentioned, that he himself, though the most regular man in the world, with respect to money matters, once got into an unpleasant predicament at St. Cloud. " I was riding in my calash," said he, " along with the Empress, when, amidst " an immense crowd of people, I was accosted, " in the Eastern style, as a Sultan might be addressed on his way to the mosque, by one of " my tradesmen, who demanded a considerable " sum of money, the payment of which had been, " for a long time, withheld from him. The " man's demand was just," remarked Napoleon, " and yet I was not to blame. I had paid the money at the proper time : the intermediate agent " was solely in fault."

At another time, when alluding to the unpopularity of which, he said; he had latterly been the object, I expressed my surprise that he had not endeavoured to countermine the libels that were published against him, and to recover popular favour. To this he replied, with an air of inspiration : " I had higher objects in view, than to concern myself about flattering and courting a

“ petty multitude ; a few insignificant coteries and  
“ sects. I should have returned victorious from  
“ Moscow, and then, not only these people, but  
“ all France, and all the world, would have ad-  
“ mired and blessed me. I might then have  
“ withdrawn myself mysteriously from the world,  
“ and popular credulity would have revived the  
“ fable of Romulus ; it would have been said, that  
“ I had been carried up to heaven, to take my  
“ place among the gods !”

About seven o'clock, the Emperor, finding himself very weak, retired to bed. When our dinner was ended, he received us all in his chamber, as he did yesterday ; his bed curtains being drawn. After a little desultory conversation, he took a fancy to have Robinson Crusoe read to him. Each of the gentlemen read a portion by turns, I alone being exempt, on account of my bad eyes. After an hour or two spent in this way, the Emperor took leave of us all, except the youngest of the party (General Gourgaud), whom he detained for the purpose of reading and conversing with him a little longer.

*The Emperor violates the Doctor's Orders.—The Name of the Great Nation first applied to France by Napoleon.*

31st.—Fair weather had now returned : the day was delightful. The Emperor had kept his chamber for six days ; and tired of the monotony of the scene, he determined to disobey the Doctor's or-

ders. He went out ; but he felt himself so extremely weak that he was scarce able to walk. He ordered the calash, and we took a drive. He was silent and low spirited, and suffered considerable pain, particularly from the soreness of his mouth.

Shortly after his return, he desired me to attend him in his chamber. He felt very weak and drowsy. I prevailed on him to eat a little ; and he also took a glass of wine, which, he said, somewhat revived him, and he found himself better. He then entered into conversation.

“ As soon as I set foot in Italy,” said he, “ I wrought a change in the manners, sentiments, and language, of our Revolution. I did not shoot the emigrants ; I protected the priests, and abolished those institutions and festivals which were calculated to disgrace us. In so doing, I was not guided by caprice ; but by reason and equity : those two bases of superior policy. For example,” continued he, addressing himself to an individual present, “ if the anniversary of the King’s death had always been celebrated, you would never have had an opportunity for rallying.”

The Emperor remarked that he, himself, was the first who applied to France the name of the *Great Nation*. “ And certainly,” said he, “ she justified the distinction in the eyes of the prostrate world.” Then, after a short pause, he



added: "And she will yet deserve and retain that  
"proud title, if her national character should  
"again rise to a level with her physical advan-  
"tages, and her moral resources."

On another occasion, speaking of a person, to whom he was much attached, he said, "His character resembles that of the *cow*; gentle and  
"placid in all things, except where his children  
"are concerned. If any one meddle with them,  
"his horns are immediately thrust forward, and  
"he may be roused to a pitch of fury."

Speaking of another individual, who had passed his thirtieth year, and whom he happened to say was too young, he observed, "And yet, at that  
"age, I had made all my conquests, and I ruled the  
"world. I had laid the revolutionary storm, amal-  
"gamated hostile parties, rallied a nation, esta-  
"blished a government and an empire; in short, I  
"wanted only the title of Emperor. I have, it must  
"be confessed," added he, "been the spoiled child  
"of fortune. From my first entrance into life, I  
"was accustomed to exercise command; and  
"circumstances, and the force of my own charac-  
"ter, were such, that as soon as I became pos-  
"sessed of power, I acknowledged no master,  
"and obeyed no laws, except those of my own  
"creating."

*The Emperor becomes extremely feeble.—His Health declines visibly.—The Doctor expresses alarm.—French Prisoners in England, &c.*

Friday, November 1st.—To-day, the weather being very fine, the Emperor went out about two o'clock. After walking a little in the garden, he felt fatigued, and called at Madame Bertrand's to rest himself. He sat there, upwards of an hour, in an arm chair, without saying a word, and apparently suffering much from pain and weakness. He then returned, languidly, to his chamber, where he threw himself on his sofa, and fell into a slumber, as he did on the preceding day. I was very much distressed to observe the state of extreme debility to which he was reduced. He endeavoured to overcome his drowsiness; but he could neither converse nor read. I withdrew, in order that he might take a little rest.

An English frigate arrived from the Cape, on her way to Europe. This circumstance has afforded us an opportunity of writing to our friends. I have, however, denied myself the happiness of doing so; for the repeated complaints of the Governor, together with the consequences with which I was threatened, amount to an absolute prohibition of all correspondence with Europe. Perhaps a more favourable moment may arrive. At all events, I must be patient.

Doctor O'Meara called to see my son, who continued in a very precarious state. He was again bled yesterday, and fainted three or four times in the course of the day.

The Doctor took the opportunity of speaking to me on the subject of the Emperor's health, and he assured me that he was by no means free of alarm as to the consequences of his confinement. He said, he was continually urging the necessity of exercise ; and he begged that I would endeavour to prevail on the Emperor to go out more frequently. It was obvious that an alarming change had taken place in him. The Doctor did not hesitate to affirm, that such complete confinement, after a life of activity, would be attended with the worst consequences ; for, that any serious disorder, produced by the nature of the climate, or any accident to which he might be exposed, would infallibly prove fatal to him. These words, and the tone of anxiety in which they were uttered, deeply affected me. From that moment, I observed the sincere interest which the Doctor felt for Napoleon, and of which he has since afforded so many proofs.

The Emperor sent for me about six o'clock. He was taking a bath ; and he appeared to be worse than when I had last seen him : this he attributed to going out yesterday. He, however, experienced some benefit from the bath ; and he took up Lord Macartney's Embassy to China,

which he continued reading for some time, making various observations as he proceeded.

When he laid aside the book, he began to converse; and the situation of the French prisoners in England, was one of the subjects that happened to come under discussion. I will here put together some remarks on this subject that fell from the Emperor on the present and other occasions.

The sudden rupture of the treaty of Amiens, on such false pretences, and with so much bad faith on the part of the English Ministry, greatly irritated the First Consul, who conceived that he had been trifled with. The seizure of several French merchant ships, even before war had been declared, roused his indignation to the utmost. "To my urgent remonstrances," said the Emperor, "they coolly replied, that it was a practice they had always observed; and here they spoke truth. But the time was gone by when France could tamely submit to such injustice and humiliation. I had become the defender of her rights and glory, and I was resolved to let our enemies know with whom they had to deal. Unfortunately, owing to the reciprocal situation of the two countries, I could only avenge one act of violence by another still greater. It was a painful thing, to be compelled to make reprisals on innocent men; but I had no alternative.

"On reading the ironical and insolent reply that was returned to my complaints, I, that very

"night, issued an order for arresting, in every  
"part of France, and in every territory occupied  
"by the French, all Englishmen, of every rank  
"whatever, and detaining them as prisoners, by  
"way of reprisal for the unjust seizure of our  
"ships. Most of these English were men of rank  
"and fortune, who were travelling for their pleasure; but the more extraordinary the measure,  
"the greater the injustice, the better it suited my  
"purpose. A general outcry was raised. The  
"English appealed to me; but I referred them to  
"their own government, on whose conduct alone  
"their fate depended. Several of these individuals  
"proposed raising a subscription to pay for the  
"ships that had been seized, in the hope of there-  
"by obtaining permission to return home. I,  
"however, informed them that I did not want  
"money; but merely to obtain justice and redress  
"for an injury. Could it have been believed, that  
"the English Government, as crafty and tenacious  
"with respect to its maritime rights, as the Court  
"of Rome is in its religious pretensions, suffered a  
"numerous and distinguished class of Englishmen  
"to be unjustly detained for ten years, rather than  
"authentically renounce for the future an odious  
"system of maritime plunder.

"When I was first raised to the head of the  
"consular government, I had had a misunderstanding with the English Cabinet, on the subject of prisoners of war; but I now carried my

“ point. The Directory had been weak enough to  
“ agree to an arrangement extremely injurious to  
“ France, and entirely to the advantage of Eng-  
“ land.

“ The English maintained their prisoners in  
“ France, and we had to maintain ours in England.  
“ We had but few English prisoners; and the  
“ French prisoners in England were exceedingly  
“ numerous: provisions were to be had almost for  
“ nothing in France; and they were exorbitantly  
“ dear in England. Thus the English had very  
“ trifling expenses to defray; while we, on the  
“ other hand, had to send enormous sums into a  
“ foreign country; and that at a time when we  
“ could but ill afford it. This arrangement, more-  
“ over, required an exchange of agents between  
“ the respective countries; and the English Com-  
“ missioner proved to be neither more nor less  
“ than a spy on the French Government; he was  
“ the go-between and contriver of the plots that  
“ were hatched in the interior of France, by the  
“ emigrants abroad. No sooner was I made ac-  
“ quainted with this state of things, than I erased  
“ the abuse by a stroke of the pen. The English  
“ Government was informed that, thenceforward,  
“ each country must maintain the prisoners it  
“ should make, unless an exchange were agreed  
“ upon. A terrible outcry was raised, and a threat  
“ was held out that the French prisoners should  
“ be suffered to die of starvation. I doubted not

“ that the English Ministers were sufficiently ob-  
“ stinate and inhuman to wish to put this threat  
“ into execution ; but I knew that any cruelty,  
“ exercised towards the prisoners, would be repug-  
“ nant to the feelings of the nation. The English  
“ Government yielded the point. The situation of  
“ our unfortunate prisoners was, indeed, neither  
“ better nor worse than it had previously been ;  
“ but, in other respects, we gained great advan-  
“ tages, and got rid of an arrangement, which  
“ placed us under a sort of yoke and tribute.

“ During the whole of the war, I incessantly  
“ made proposals for an exchange of prisoners :  
“ but to this, the English Government, under some  
“ pretence or other, constantly refused to accede,  
“ on the supposition that it would be advantageous  
“ to me. I have nothing to say against this. In  
“ war, policy must take place of feeling ; but why  
“ exercise unnecessary cruelty ? And this is what  
“ the English Ministers unquestionably did, when  
“ they found the number of prisoners increasing.  
“ Then commenced, for our unfortunate country-  
“ men, the odious system of confinement in hulks ;  
“ a species of torture, which the ancients would  
“ have added to the horrors of the infernal regions,  
“ had their imaginations been capable of conceiv-  
“ ing it. I readily admit there might be exagge-  
“ ration on the part of the accusers ; but was the  
“ truth spoken by those who defended themselves ?  
“ We know what kind of thing a report to Parlia-

ment is. We can form a correct idea of it, when we read the calumnies and falsehoods that are uttered in Parliament, with such cool effrontery, by the base men who have blushed not to become our executioners. Confinement on board hulks, is a thing that needs no explanation: the fact speaks for itself. When it is considered that men, unaccustomed to live on shipboard, were crowded together in little unwholesome cabins, too small to afford them room to move; that, by way of indulgence, they were permitted, twice during the twenty-four hours, to breathe pestilential exhalations at ebb tide; and that this misery was prolonged for the space of ten or twelve years;—the blood curdles at such an odious picture of inhumanity! On this point, I blame myself for not having made reprisals. It would have been well had I thrown into similar confinement, not the poor sailors and soldiers, whose complaints would never have been attended to, but all the English nobility, and persons of fortune, who were then in France. I should have permitted them to maintain free correspondence with their friends and families, and their complaints would soon have assailed the ears of the English Ministers, and checked their odious measures. Certain parties in Paris, who were ever the best allies of the enemy, would, of course, have called me a tiger, and a cannibal; but no matter, I should have discharged my duty



“to the French people, who had made me their protector and defender. In this instance, my decision of character failed me.”

The Emperor asked me whether the French prisoners had been confined in hulks at the time when I was in England. I could not positively inform him; but I replied, that I did not think they were, because I knew there were prisons for them in various parts of the country, where many of the English visited them, and purchased the productions of their industry. I added, that they were, in all probability, but ill provided for, and exposed to many hardships; for a story used to be told of a government agent having visited one of the prisons on horseback, and no sooner had he alighted from his horse, and turned his back, than the poor animal was seized, cut to pieces, and devoured by the prisoners. I did not, of course, vouch for the fact; but the story was related by the English themselves, and the ignorant and prejudiced class did not regard it as a proof of the extreme misery to which the prisoners must have been reduced; but merely as an example of their terrible voracity. The Emperor laughed, and said he considered the anecdote to be a mere fabrication; observing, that if the fact were to be relied on, it was calculated to make human nature shudder; for, that nothing but hunger, urged to madness, could drive men to such a dreadful extremity. I was the more inclined to believe that the plan of confinement on

board the hulks had not been introduced when I was in England, because I recollected that a great deal had been said about establishing the French prisoners in some small islands between England and Ireland. It was proposed to convey them thither, and to leave them to themselves, in a state of complete seclusion; and a few light vessels were to be kept constantly cruising about to guard them. To this plan it was, however, objected, that, in case of a descent on the part of the enemy, his grand object would be to land on these islands, distribute arms among the prisoners, and thus recruit an army immediately. Perhaps, added I, this idea might have led to the use of hulks; for the prisoners were rapidly increasing in numbers, and it was not thought safe to keep them on shore among the people, as the latter betrayed a strong disposition to fraternize with the French. "Well," said Napoleon, "I can very readily conceive that "there might be good grounds for rejecting the "plan you have just mentioned. Safety and self-preservation before all things. But the confinement in the hulks, is a stain on the English character for humanity; an irritating sting, that "will never be removed from the hearts of the "French prisoners."

"On the subject of prisoners of war," continued Napoleon, "the English Ministers invariably "acted with their habitual bad faith, and with "the machiavelism that distinguishes the school

“ of the present day. Being absolutely deter-  
“ mined to avoid an exchange, which they did  
“ not wish to incur the blame of having refused,  
“ they invented and multiplied pretences beyond  
“ calculation. In the first place, that I should  
“ presume to regard as prisoners, persons merely  
“ detained, was affirmed to be an atrocious vio-  
“ lation of the laws of civilized nations, and a  
“ principle which the English Government would  
“ never avow, on any consideration whatever.  
“ It happened that some of the individuals de-  
“ tained, who were at large on parole, escaped,  
“ and were received triumphantly in England.  
“ On the other hand, some Frenchmen effected  
“ their escape to France. I expressed my dis-  
“ approbation of their conduct, and proposed,  
“ that the individuals of either country, who had  
“ thus broken their parole, should be mutually  
“ sent back again. But I received for answer, that  
“ persons detained, were not to be accounted pri-  
“ soners ; that they had merely availed themselves  
“ of the lawful privilege of escaping oppression ;  
“ that they had done right ; and had been received  
“ accordingly. After this, I thought myself justi-  
“ fied in inducing the French to escape ; and the  
“ English Ministers filled their journals with the  
“ most insolent abuse, declaring me to be a man,  
“ who scrupled not to violate moral principle, faith,  
“ or law.

“ When, at length, they determined to treat for

“an exchange of prisoners, or, perhaps, I ought  
“rather to say, when they took it into their heads  
“to trifle with me on this point, they sent a com-  
“missioner to France. All the great difficulties  
“were waived; and with a fine parade of senti-  
“ment, conditions were proposed for the sake of  
“humanity, &c. They consented to include per-  
“sons detained, in the list of prisoners, and to  
“admit, under that head, the Hanoverian troops,  
“who were my prisoners, but who were at large  
“on parole. This latter point had been a stand-  
“ing obstacle; because, it was insinuated, the  
“Hanoverians were not English. Thus far mat-  
“ters had proceeded smoothly, and there was  
“every probability of their being brought to a  
“conclusion. But I knew whom I had to deal  
“with; and I guessed the intentions that were  
“really entertained. There were infinitely more  
“French prisoners in England, than English pri-  
“soners in France; and I was well aware, that the  
“English being once safely landed at home, some  
“pretence would be found for breaking off the ex-  
“change, and the rest of my poor Frenchmen  
“might have remained on board the hulks to all  
“eternity. I declared that I would accede to  
“no partial exchange; that I would be satisfied  
“only with a full and complete one; and, to  
“facilitate matters, I made the following pro-  
“posal. I admitted that there were fewer Eng-  
“lish prisoners in France, than French prisoners

“in England; but, I observed, that there were  
“among my prisoners, Spaniards, Portuguese,  
“and other allies of the English, who had been  
“taken under their banners, and fighting in the  
“same cause. With this addition, I could on  
“my part produce a far more considerable num-  
“ber of prisoners than there were in England. I  
“therefore offered to surrender up all, in return  
“for all. This proposition, at first, occasioned  
“some embarrassment; it was discussed and re-  
“jected. However, as soon as they had devised  
“a scheme, by which they thought they could  
“secure the object they had in view, they acceded  
“to my proposition. But I kept a watchful eye  
“on them; I knew that if we began by merely  
“exchanging Frenchmen for Englishmen, as soon  
“as the latter should be secured, pretences would  
“be found for breaking off the business, and the  
“old evasions would be resumed; for the English  
“prisoners in France did not amount to one third  
“of the French in England. To obviate any mis-  
“understanding on either side, I therefore pro-  
“posed that we should exchange by transports of  
“only three thousand at a time; that three thousand  
“Frenchmen should be returned to me, and that  
“I would send back one thousand English, and  
“two thousand Hanoverians, Spaniards, Portu-  
“guese, and others. Thus, if any misunderstand-  
“ing arose and put a stop to the exchange, we  
“should still stand in the same relative proportions

“ as before, and without having practised any deception upon each other: but if, on the contrary, the affair should proceed uninterruptedly to a conclusion, I promised to surrender up, gratuitously, all the prisoners that might ultimately remain in my hands. My conjectures respecting the real designs of the English Government proved to be correct: these conditions which were really so reasonable, and the principle of which had already been adopted, were rejected, and the whole business was broken off. Whether the English Ministers really sympathized in the situation of their countrymen, or whether they were convinced of my firm determination not to be duped, I know not; but it would appear, that they were at length inclined to come to a conclusion, when I subsequently introduced the subject by an indirect channel. However, our disasters in Russia at once revived their hopes, and defeated my intentions.”

The Emperor next remarked upon the treatment of prisoners of war in France, which, he said, was as generous and liberal as it possibly could be; and he thought that, on this subject, no nation could justly convey a reproach to us. “ We have,” said he, “ in our favour the testimony and the sentiments of the prisoners themselves; for, with the exception of those who were ardently attached to their local laws, or, in other words, to notions of liberty (and these were exclusively the

“ English and Spaniards), all the rest, namely, the  
“ Austrians, Prussians, and Russians, were willing  
“ to remain with us: they left us with regret, and  
“ returned to us with pleasure. This disposition  
“ on the part of the Spaniards and English, has  
“ oftener than once influenced the obstinacy of  
“ their efforts, or their resistance.”

The Emperor also made the following observation:—“ It was my intention to have introduced  
“ into Europe, a change with respect to the treatment of prisoners. I intended to enrol them  
“ in regiments, and to make them labour under  
“ military discipline, at public works and monuments. They should have received whatever  
“ money they earned, and would thus have been  
“ secured against the misery of absolute idleness,  
“ and the disorders arising out of it. They would  
“ have been well fed and clothed, and would have  
“ wanted for nothing, without being a burden on  
“ the state. All parties would have been benefited by this plan. But my idea did not meet the  
“ approval of the Council of State, which, in this  
“ instance, was swayed by the mistaken philanthropy that leads to so many errors in the world.  
“ It was said, that it would be unjust and cruel to  
“ compel men to labour. It was feared lest our  
“ enemies should make reprisals; and it was affirmed, that a prisoner was sufficiently unfortunate  
“ in the loss of his liberty, without being placed  
“ under restraint as to the employment of his time.

“ But here was the abuse of which I complained,  
“ and which I wished to correct. A prisoner, said I,  
“ must and should expect to be placed under law-  
“ ful constraint; and that which I would impose on  
“ him, is for his own advantage, as well as that of  
“ others. I do not require, that he should be sub-  
“ ject to greater misery or fatigue, but to less dan-  
“ ger than he is exposed to in his present con-  
“ dition. You are afraid lest the enemy should  
“ make reprisals, and treat French prisoners in  
“ the same manner. Heaven grant it should be  
“ so! I wish for nothing better! I should then  
“ behold my sailors and soldiers occupied in whole-  
“ some labour, in the fields or the public roads,  
“ instead of seeing them hurried alive on board  
“ those odious hulks. They would return home  
“ healthy, industrious, and inured to labour; and  
“ in every country they would leave behind them  
“ some compensation for the fatal ravages of war.  
“ By way of concession, the Council of State agreed  
“ to the organization of a few corps of prisoners  
“ as voluntary labourers, or something of the sort;  
“ but this was by no means the fulfilment of the  
“ scheme I had in view.”



*Napoleon's Designs with regard to Antwerp.—His refusal to surrender that City one of the Causes of his Fall.—His generous Sentiments in Rejecting the Treaty of Chatillon.—Maritime Works.—Official Report of the State of the Empire in 1813.—Total Amount of Expenditure in Public Works, during the Reign of Napoleon.*

2d.—The Emperor did not leave his chamber to-day. When I waited on him, I found him very unwell from the effects of cold; and the secretion of saliva still continued. I remained with him the greater part of the day. He sometimes endeavoured to converse, and sometimes tried to sleep. He was very restless, and often drew near the fire. He was evidently feverish.

In course of the day, the conversation turned upon Antwerp; its arsenal, its fortifications, its importance, and the great military and political views he entertained with respect to that favourably situated place.

He remarked that he had done much for Antwerp, but that this was little in comparison with what he had proposed to do. He intended to have rendered it a fatal point of attack to the enemy by sea, and by land to have made it a certain resource, and a point of national security in case of great disasters. He would have rendered Antwerp capable of receiving a whole army in its defeat, and holding out against a close siege for the space of a year, during which time, he said, a nation would be

enabled to rally in a mass for its deliverance, and to resume the offensive: Five or six places of this kind were, he added, to constitute the new system of defence, which he intended to have established. The works which had been completed in so short a time at Antwerp, the numerous dock-yards, magazines, and canals, were already the subject of admiration; but all this the Emperor declared to be nothing. Antwerp was as yet, he said, merely a commercial town; the military town was to be constructed on the opposite bank of the river. For this purpose, ground had been purchased at a low rate, and it was to have been sold again at a high profit for the purpose of building; so that by this speculation, the expenses attending the enterprise would have been considerably diminished. The winter docks would have been capable of admitting three-deck ships with all their guns on board; and covered dry docks were to have been constructed for laying up vessels in time of peace.

The Emperor remarked, that the scheme he had formed, would have rendered Antwerp a stupendous and colossean bulwark; and that it would have been a whole province in itself. Adverting to this superb establishment, he observed, that it had been one of the causes of his exile to St. Helena; that the demand for the cession of Antwerp, was one of the circumstances that led him to reject the conditions of peace proposed at Chatillon. If the Allies had agreed to leave

him in possession of Antwerp, he would in all probability have concluded peace; and he questioned whether he had not done wrong, in refusing to sign the proposed ultimatum. "At that period," said he, "I had doubtless many resources and chances; but yet, how much may be said in favour of the resolution I adopted. I did right," added he, "in refusing to sign the ultimatum, and I fully explained my reasons for that refusal; therefore, even here, on this rock, amidst all my misery, I have nothing to repent of. I am aware, that few will understand me; but, in spite of the fatal turn of events, even the common mass of mankind must now be convinced that duty and honour left me no other alternative. If the Allies had thus far succeeded in degrading me, would they have stopped there? Were their offers of peace and reconciliation sincere? I knew them too well, to put faith in their professions. Would they not have availed themselves of the immense advantages afforded them by the treaty, to finish by intrigue what they had commenced by force of arms? Then where would have been the safety, independence, and future welfare of France? Where would have been my honour, my vows? Would not the Allies have ruined me in the estimation of the people, as effectually as they ruined me on the field of battle? They would have found public opinion too ready to receive the impres-

"sion which it would have been their aim to give  
 "to it! How would France have reproached me,  
 "for suffering foreigners to parcel out the territory  
 "that had been intrusted to my care? How many  
 "faults would have been attributed to me by the  
 "unjust, and the unfortunate? Could the French  
 "people, full of the recollections of their glory,  
 "have patiently endured the burdens that would  
 "inevitably have been imposed on them? Hence  
 "would have arisen fresh commotions, anarchy,  
 "and desolation! I preferred risking the last  
 "chances of battle, determining to abdicate in  
 "case of necessity."\*

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\* These remarks of Napoleon are confirmed by the following:—

*Letter from M. de Caulincourt, to the Editor of the Constitutionnel. (Inserted in that Journal on the 21st of January 1820.)*

"Sir,—A work by M. Koch, entitled "*Campagne de 1814*," contains several fragments of letters written by me to the Emperor, and to the Prince of Neufchâtel, during the sitting of the Congress at Chatillon.

"I think it incumbent on me to declare, that this correspondence has been obtained and published without my knowledge. The high sources whence the author affirms he has derived his materials, confers a degree of historical importance on his work; and therefore, in so far as I am concerned, I cannot allow myself to sanction, by my silence, the errors it contains. Most of the details relative to the negotiations which took place subsequently to the 31st of March, are incorrect.

\* With regard to the Congress of Chatillon, if events have

I acknowledged the justice of the Emperor's observations. He had lost the throne, it is true, but voluntarily; and, because he preferred to renounce it, rather than compromise our welfare

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justified the desire I entertained for the establishment of peace, it would be wrong to withhold from France and history, the motives of national interest and honour which prevented the Emperor from subscribing to the conditions which foreigners wished to impose on us.

"I therefore fulfil the first of duties, that of acting justly and candidly, in developing these motives, by the following extract from the Emperor's orders to me.

*Paris, January 19, 1814.*

" . . . . The point on which the Emperor most urgently insists, is the necessity of France retaining her natural limits: this is my *sine qua non*. All the powers of Europe, even England, acknowledged these limits at Frankfort. France, if reduced to her old limits, would not now possess two-thirds of the relative power which she had twenty years ago. The territory she has acquired in the direction of the Rhine, does not balance what Russia, Prussia, and Austria, have acquired merely by the dismemberment of Poland: all these states have increased in magnitude. To restore France to her old limits, would be to humble and degrade her. France, without the departments of the Rhine, without Belgium, Ostend, and Antwerp, would be nothing. The plan of limiting France to her old frontiers, is inseparable from the restoration of the Bourbons; for they alone can offer a guarantee for the maintenance of such a system. England knows this; with any other government, peace on such a basis would be impossible, and could not endure. Neither the Emperor nor the Republic (should revolution again restore it), would ever subscribe to such a condition. As far as regards his Majesty, his determination is irrevocably fixed: he will not leave France less

and his own honour. History will appreciate this sublime sacrifice. Power and life are transitory; but glory endures, and is immortal.

"But, after all," said the Emperor, "the historian will, perhaps, find it difficult to do me justice, for the world is so overwhelmed with libels and falsehoods; my actions have been so misrepresented, my character so darkened and misunderstood." To this, some one present replied, that doubt could exist only during his life; that injustice would be confined solely to his contemporaries; that, as he had himself already remarked, the clouds would disperse in proportion as his memory advanced in posterity; that his character would rise daily and become the noblest subject for the pen of history; and that, though the first catastrophe might have

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"than he found her. Should the allies wish to alter the bases that have been proposed and accepted,—namely, that France should preserve her natural limits, the Emperor finds only three courses open to him: to fight and conquer; to fight and perish gloriously; or, finally, if the nation should not support him, to abdicate. The Emperor attaches but little importance to sovereignty; he will never purchase it by degradation."

"I hope, Sir, that your impartiality will induce you to grant this letter a place in your Journal, and I take this opportunity of presenting to you assurances of my respect," &c.

(Signed)

"CAULINCOURT,  
Duke of Vicenza."

proved fatal to his memory, owing to the outcry that was then raised against him, yet, the prodigies of his return, the acts of his brief government, and his exile to St. Helena, now left him crowned with glory in the eyes of nations and posterity. "That, is very true," replied the Emperor, with an air of satisfaction, "and my fate may be said to be the very opposite of others. A fall, usually has the effect of lowering a man's character; but, on the contrary, my fall has elevated me prodigiously. Every succeeding day divests me of some portion of my *tyrant's skin*."

After a few moments of silence, the conversation was again resumed, on the subject of Antwerp and the English expedition. "The English Government, and its General," said the Emperor, seemed to vie with each other in want of skill. If Lord Chatham, to whom our soldiers gave the nick name of *My Lord J'attends*, had resolved to make an energetic movement, he might, doubtless, have destroyed our valuable establishment, by a *coup de main*; but the first moment being lost, and our fleet returned, the place was secure. There was a great deal of exaggeration respecting the efforts and measures taken for the safety of Antwerp. The zeal of the citizens was excited only for secret and criminal designs."

On mentioning some facts, of which I had been

a witness, I happened to observe, that it was generally marshals who reviewed armies; but that here the rule had been reversed, and armies reviewed their marshals; three of whom had succeeded each other in a very short time. "Political circumstances," said the Emperor, "called for this change. I sent Bessieres to Antwerp, because the crisis demanded a firm and confidential man; but as soon as the critical period was expired, I sent another to succeed Bessieres, because I wished to have the latter near me."

The maritime works of Antwerp, notwithstanding their immense extent, are but a small portion of those which were executed by Napoleon. Having been attached, as a member of the Council of State, to the department of the marine, I possess, *ex officio*, an account of these works, a list of which I will here insert, in geographical order, proceeding from south to north.

1. Fort Boyard, constructed for the purpose of enlarging and defending the anchorage of the Isle of Aix, whence, by dint of perseverance and intrepidity, a passage had been discovered out of sight of the enemy, between Oleron and the mainland, by which even vessels of the line could reach the anchoring grounds of the Gironde and its outlets.

2. The extensive and superb works of Cherbourg. The dike, which was commenced under Louis XVI. and which had suffered considerable injury during the Revolution, was repaired; the



central part being elevated nine feet above the highest level of the sea, and along an extent of 100 toises, for the purpose of mounting a battery of twenty guns of the largest calibre. This work was executed in less than two years, from 1802 to 1804, and with such success, that though it has been neglected since 1813, it has suffered no decay, and still retains all its original strength.

A large elliptical tower of granite, was built in the centre, and within the dike, which it supports, and by which, it is, in its turn, covered. The huge foundation of this work, which, being constructed in the open sea, of course presented enormous difficulties, was completed at the end of 1812, and raised to the height of six feet above the level of the highest tides. The solidity which it has preserved since that period, though in a state of neglect, and exposed to the violent action of the waves, is a manifest proof of the strength of the defensive works that were projected on this artificial rock, when the time should arrive for the full completion of the plan. This plan consisted in raising at the height of one story, a barrack, capable of containing the garrison, a powder magazine, reservoir, &c. ; this was to be surmounted by an arched platform, bomb proof, and capable of receiving a casemated battery of nineteen thirty-six pounders, and above this, was to be a second platform, capable of receiving mounted guns, if necessary ; the whole crowning the central battery, already exist-

ing on the dike itself. Thus the enemy's attack would have been resisted by four ranges of batteries, one above another.

In less than eight years, a military post was formed by digging into the live rock. It was capable of containing forty-five ships of the line, a proportional number of frigates, three slips for building, &c. This asylum, so necessary for ships of the line, owing to the natural situation of the roads of Cherbourg, which are too much exposed to the violence of the waves, was dug thirty feet beneath the level of the sea, at the lowest neap tide, in order to afford, at all times, a secure station for the largest ships. When it was opened in 1813, the moles and dikes were fully completed along its whole extent. At that time, the Empress Maria Louisa and all her court, witnessed the magnificent and sublime spectacle of the sudden irruption of the sea, which was admitted, simply by the spontaneous rupture of the immense dam that had hitherto repelled its efforts. The largest vessels immediately entered the enclosure, which has since afforded a convenient station for shipping, together with the requisite accommodations for building, repairing, and fitting out: in short, it possesses every advantage that might be expected in so important a creation of art, and is justly considered to be one of the noblest monuments of Napoleon's reign. According to the Emperor's plan, this stupendous work was intended only as a first or out-

ward port; he had determined on constructing, in a lateral direction, at a little distance beyond it, a second or inward port, which was to be commenced immediately, and which would have been speedily completed, owing to the precautions that were previously adopted. It was to be large enough to receive twenty-five ships of the line, and behind these two ports, and extending along their whole length, in a semicircular form, there were to be built thirty covered docks, where an equal number of sail of the line might be kept in constant readiness to put to sea. Such were the immense works executed or planned at Cherbourg alone.

3. The numerous works occasioned by raising the flotilla for the invasion of England.—It was necessary to provide anchorages, to render the preparations simultaneous, and to execute every offensive and defensive operation. All this required, at various points, the construction of forts in stone and wood work, quays, basins, jetées, dams, sluices, &c.

Boulogne was chosen as the central point of assemblage; and Vimereux, Ambleteuse, and Etaples, were the secondary points. Boulogne itself was rendered capable of receiving 2,000 ships of different kinds. Besides its natural port, an artificial basin was formed, by means of a dam, closed in the middle by a sluice, twenty-four feet wide. This basin was capable of containing 8 or

900 ships afloat, and in a constant state of readiness; and the sluice, by its power of resistance, had the advantage, when closed, of producing runs of water, which increased the depth of the natural port, and freed its entrance from the obstruction of sand banks. Vimereux, Etaples, and Ambleteuse, were simultaneously rendered capable of receiving a proportional number of ships: all these undertakings were completed in the space of two years.

4. Important local repairs and improvements in all the ports of the coast.—Havre was rendered accessible to frigates, by destroying, by means of a strong sluice, the gravel bank that obstructed its entrance. Improvements were made at St. Valéry, Dieppe, Calais, Gravelines, and Dunkirk; the port of the latter was cleared, and the marsh that covered the town was drained. A second flotilla was to be assembled at Ostend, to which a free entrance had been effected by clearing its canal.

5. The works of Flushing.—This town having momentarily fallen into the hands of the English, they destroyed all its military establishments when they evacuated it. The Emperor ordered the reconstruction of the works on a much more extensive scale than before. Fully appreciating the important geographical situation of the place, he ordered the basin to be re-dug and enlarged, as well as its entrance. The canal was also to be deepened, so that the basin might be rendered ca-

pable of admitting even vessels of eighty tons, and affording a winter station for a squadron of twenty ships, always ready to put to sea in one or two tides. This advantage was to be procured by means of a very ingenious plan, suggested by the naval Commandant of the place, and which consisted simply in confining the water, at high tide, in the ditches of the town. The basin was a most important acquisition, as it afforded the means of making naval preparations, free of all the inconveniences of the Scheldt. Our ships would have been enabled to sail directly to the coasts of England; and the English would thus have been compelled to keep cruisers constantly on the watch; whereas, hitherto, as soon as they knew that our ships were disarmed in Flushing, or returned to Antwerp, on the approach of winter, they tranquilly went into port, having nothing to apprehend until the return of spring. But it was necessary to render the fortifications of Flushing equal to the protection of a whole squadron: consequently, defensive works were multiplied on various points; magazines and other establishments were reconstructed; and orders were issued for rendering them bomb proof, and surmounting them with batteries. Flushing would have been thickly planted with cannon on all points, and would, in short, have been rendered impregnable.

6. Works commenced at Terneuse.—The importance of the western mouth of the Scheldt, for

enabling our fleet to sail in and out, and the inconveniences attending the return of our ships to Antwerp, every year during the winter season, suggested to the Emperor the idea of establishing a still greater arsenal than Flushing, near the mouth of the river. Terneuse, on the left bank of the Scheldt, three leagues from the mouth of the river, was the point fixed on, and the works were immediately commenced. They were, however, suspended, on account of the great length of time, as well as the enormous expense, that would have been requisite for their completion.

7. The immense works at Antwerp.—This town, which is nearly twenty leagues distant from the sea, from which it is separated by a winding road, seemed to be divested of every desirable advantage for the formation of a maritime arsenal; and it had hitherto presented only petty commercial establishments. A fleet raised at Antwerp would, with difficulty, have been able to descend the river, and would have been but ill defended against the inclemencies of the weather, or the attempts of the enemy. It would have been useless during one third of the year; for the approach of winter forced the ships to come higher up, to avoid the current and ice of the river; there being no floating basins. But these numerous difficulties seemed as nothing in the eyes of Napoleon. In his impatience to make the English feel the dangers of the Scheldt, which they had themselves so frequently acknow-

ledged to be formidable, he speedily concerted his plans, and in less than eight years Antwerp assumed the aspect of an important maritime arsenal, and a considerable fleet was already riding in the Scheldt. Every thing was done thoroughly and completely. Magazines, quays, dock-yards, &c. were newly constructed. A provisional asylum was assigned for the shipping in the Rupel, while two great floating basins were dug in the town of Antwerp, capable of receiving vessels of every size, with all their guns on board. Twenty slips for building, were raised all on a line, as if by enchantment, and twenty vessels, lying in these slips at once, presented to the traveller, arriving by the Tête de Flandres, the imposing and singular spectacle of twenty vessels of the line, ranged as a squadron. Most of these works, however, Nápoleon regarded merely as a provision momentarily borrowed from commerce. He intended to establish a complete and much larger arsenal facing Antwerp, on the bank of the river, opposite to the Tête de Flandres. He at first conceived the bold design of throwing a bridge across the Scheldt ; but he at length determined in favour of flying-bridges, of a very ingenious construction. The Emperor, as I have already observed, had formed the grandest ideas respecting the improvements at Antwerp, and the details of his plan extended as far as the sea. He used to say, that he intended to make Antwerp a province, a little kingdom, in itself. To

this object he devoted himself with that degree of interest which he might be expected to evince in the execution of one of his most favourite projects. He made several journeys to Antwerp, for the purpose of personally inspecting the works in their most trivial details.

On one of these occasions, he happened to fall in with a Captain or Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers, who was modestly assisting in the fortifications of the place, and with whom he entered into the discussion of certain points connected with the business in which he was engaged. Shortly after, the officer unexpectedly received a letter, informing him, that he was appointed Aide-de-camp to the Emperor, and directing him to repair to the Taileries to enter upon his duties. The poor officer was filled with astonishment: he thought he was dreaming, or, that the letter had been misdirected. He was so extremely diffident, and possessed so little knowledge of the world, that this announcement of his promotion threw him into great perplexity. He recollected having once seen me at Antwerp, and he begged I would render him my assistance. Accordingly, on his arrival in Paris, he came and assured me of his total ignorance of court manners, and the embarrassment he felt in presenting himself to the Emperor. However, I soon succeeded in encouraging him; and before he reached the gate of the palace, he had mustered a tolerable degree of confidence. This officer was



General Bernard, whose great talents were brought into notice by this circumstance, and who, at the time of our disasters, proceeded to America, where he was placed at the head of the military works of the United States.

Napoleon loved to take people thus by surprise. Whenever he discovered talent, he never failed to raise it to its proper sphere, without suffering himself to be swayed by any secondary considerations. This was one of his striking characteristics.

8. The works in Holland.—No sooner had Holland fallen into the hands of Napoleon, than his creative ardour was immediately directed to all the different branches of her political economy. He repaired and enlarged the arsenals of the Meuse, Rotterdam, and Helvoetsluys. Hitherto ships of the line could not reach Amsterdam, and could only be conveyed thence by dint of vast expense and labour; it being necessary to convey them on buoys, unladen and without their guns, to the opening of the Zuyderzee. This operation did not suit the rapidity necessary in the great enterprises of the period; and the Emperor determined to remove the northern arsenal to a situation in which it would be exempt from these disadvantages. He accordingly gave orders for the establishment or improvement of the Nievendiep, where, in a short time, twenty-five ships of the line were provided with a safe winter station, and laid up beside magnificent quays. This im-

portant point was defended by the military establishments of the Helder, which formed the key of Holland. Napoleon's plan was to make the Nievendip the Antwerp of the Zuyderzee.

9. Works of the Weser, the Embs and the Elbe.—When Napoleon joined Bremen, Ham-burgh, and Lubeck, to the Empire, his plans and works extended with his dominion. He took measures for rendering the Elbe accessible to ships of the line, and projected a maritime arsenal at Delfzyl at the mouth of the Embs. But the object which particularly engrossed the attention of Napoleon, was the cutting of a line of canals, which, with the help of the Embs, the Weser, and the Elbe, would have effected a junction between Holland and the Baltic. We should thus have been enabled to communicate safely, and by a simple system of inland navigation, from Bordeaux and the Mediterranean, with the powers of the North. We should easily have obtained from them all kinds of naval productions for our ports, and we should have been able to send out against them when we chose, our flotillas from the Channel, Holland, &c.

All these important works were planned, and most of them executed, with amazing rapidity. The creative genius of Napoleon conceived them, and the minister Decres indefatigably prosecuted the designs that were suggested. The plans were drawn, and the works executed by Prosný, Sganzin,

Cachin, and others. The names attached to such monuments, are imperishable!

If, to what has here been described, be added other simultaneous prodigies in every other branch of the public service, and in every other part of the territory ; and if it be considered that all were executed amidst perpetual war, and without more, perhaps, even with less burdens, than now, after a long peace, weigh on the countries that composed the vast French Empire, it is impossible to repress astonishment and admiration. All these miracles were effected by steadiness of determination, talent armed with power, and finances wisely and economically applied ! Certainly, if in addition to what has already been mentioned, the mass of fortifications, the multitude of public roads, bridges, canals, and edifices of various kinds be taken into account, it must be acknowledged, that no sovereign in the world ever did so much in so short a time, and by imposing so few burdens on his people.

Italy, of which Napoleon was king, also enjoyed her share of his magnificent improvements. He cut fine roads across the Alps and the Apennines ; established a maritime arsenal at Genoa ; fortified Corfu, so as to make that island the key of Greece ; repaired and enlarged the port of Venice ; and, while the works were proceeding, it was rendered capable of admitting French ships of the line, by means of the floating buoys used in Holland.

To obviate the risk of the ship being attacked by the enemy, during this hazardous conveyance, a plan was proposed by which they were to be enabled to carry their own guns ; and it was, I believe, successfully adopted. Napoleon, moreover, intended to establish a naval arsenal at Ragusa, another at Pola, in Istria, and a third at Ancona. He conceived the happy and bold idea of forming a junction between the gulfs of Venice and Genoa, by the help of the Po, and a canal extending from Alessandria to Savona, through the Apennine. This plan would have been attended with the most important results ; for, independently of its immense commercial and military advantages, it would have established a direct and safe communication between Venice and Toulou ; and the latter port would thus have received all the naval productions of the Adriatic, free from any chance of their being attacked by the enemy. Finally, Napoleon cleared Rome of the rubbish with which she was encumbered, restored many ancient vestiges of the Romans, and formed the design of draining the Pontine marshes, &c.

I here subjoin the preamble of the report on the state of the Empire, presented to the Legislative Body, in the sitting of the 25th of February, 1813, by Count Montalivet, Minister of the Interior. This superb report, which is founded in all its points on authentic documents, is calculated to afford a just idea of the wonders of Napoleon's

government. I think I may properly close the present subject, by inserting an official statement of the expenses in public works, during the memorable reign of the Emperor.

“GENTLEMEN,—His Majesty has directed me to make you acquainted with the situations of the Interior of the Empire, during the years 1811 and 1812.

“You will have the satisfaction to observe, that notwithstanding the great armies which a state of war, both maritime and continental, has rendered indispensably necessary, the population has continued to increase; that French industry has made new progress; that the soil was never better cultivated, or our manufactures more flourishing; and that at no period of our history, has wealth been more equally diffused among all classes of society.

“The farmer now enjoys benefits to which he was formerly a stranger. He is enabled to purchase land at the highest price; his food and clothing are better, and more abundant than before; and his dwelling is more substantial and convenient.

“Improvements in agriculture, manufactures, and the useful arts, are no longer rejected merely because they are new. Experiments are made in every branch of labour, and the methods that prove to be most advantageous, are substituted for old ones. Artificial meadows are multiplied; the system of fallow lands is abandoned; routines are bet-

ter understood, and improved plans of cultivation augment the produce of the soil. Cattle are multiplied, and the different breeds improved. Even the poor labourer finds means to purchase, at a high price, Spanish rams and stallions of the finest breed. They are now sufficiently enlightened to know their real interests, and they do not scruple to make these valuable purchases. Thus the demands of our mauufacturers, our agriculturists, and our armies, are every day better supplied.

“ This high degree of prosperity is to be attributed to the liberal laws by which this great Empire is ruled, to the suppression of feudalism, tithes, mortmains, and monastic orders; measures which have created or set at liberty numerous private estates, which are now the free patrimony of a multitude of families, formerly mere paupers. It is also to be ascribed to the more equal division of wealth, to the clearness and simplification of the laws relative to landed property and mortgages, and to the promptitude observed in the decision of lawsuits, which are now daily decreasing in number. To these same causes, and to the influence of vaccination, must be attributed the increase of the population. It may even be said, that the conscription, which annually enrolls under our banner the flower of the French youth, has had some share in contributing to this increase, by multiplying the number of marriages; because marriage fixes for ever the fate of the

young Frenchman, who has once served in obedience to the law."

Official statement of the expenditure in public works, from Napoleon's accession to the imperial throne; presented, together with the vouchers, to the Legislative Body, by the Minister of the Interior.

Imperial palaces and buildings, belonging to the crown . . . . .	Francs.
Fortifications . . . . .	62,000,000
Sea Ports . . . . .	144,000,000
Roads, highways, &c. . . . .	117,000,000
Bridges in Paris and the departments . . . .	277,000,000
Canals, navigation and draining . . . . .	31,000,000
Works in Paris . . . . .	123,000,000
Public buildings of the departments and great towns . . . . .	102,000,000
	149,000,000
Total	<u>1,005,000,000</u>

*The Emperor indisposed and melancholy.—Amusing Anecdotes.—Two Aides-de-camp.—Mallet's Plot.*

3d.—The Emperor still continued to seclude himself like a hermit. Towards evening he sent for me:—he informed me that he was somewhat relieved of his toothache, though he was not better in other respects. He said he felt extremely weak and depressed in spirits, and that during the whole day, his mind had been possessed with gloomy ideas. He was taking the bath, and after a few moments silence, he said, as if making an effort to rouse himself, "Come, *my Dinarzade*, if you are not too

“drowsy, tell me one of your stories. It is long  
“since you have told me any thing about your  
“friends of the Faubourg St. Germain.”—“Sire,” I  
replied, “I have related so much on that subject,  
“that I fancy I have exhausted my whole stock of  
“tales, whether true or false. Only the scandalous  
“stories now remain untold, and in these your  
“Majesty knows, that you yourself were never  
“spared. However, a droll anecdote just now  
“occurs to me. One day, M. de T. . . . . on  
“leaving home to attend to his ministerial duties,  
“informed his wife that he should bring back  
“M. Denon with him to dinner. He wished the dis-  
“tinguished traveller to be treated with the utmost  
“attention; and he told Madame de T. . . . .  
“that the best thing she could do, would be to look  
“over his work, so that she might be enabled to  
“pay some handsome compliments to the author;  
“at the same time informing her in what par-  
“ticular part of the library the book was to be  
“found. Madame de T. . . . . set about her  
“task: she found the book exceedingly interesting,  
“and was delighted at the thought of speedily  
“being introduced to the hero. No sooner were  
“the company seated at table, than she informed  
“M. Denon, whom she had taken care to place  
“beside her, that she had been reading his work,  
“and that she had been very much pleased with  
“it. M. Denon bowed, and the lady proceeded  
“to remark on the singular countries he had



“ visited, and the hardships he had endured; at the  
“ same time taking pains to assure him how deeply  
“ she sympathized in his troubles. M. Denon  
“ bowed again; and all went on very smoothly  
“ until Madame de T. . . . . still addressing  
“ herself to M. Denon, declared how very much de-  
“ lighted she had been when he found his *man*  
“ *Friday*, and made him the companion of his  
“ solitude. On hearing this, M. Denon started,  
“ and turning to the person who sat on his other  
“ hand, he said: Is it possible she takes me for  
“ Robinson Crusoe? The fact is, or I should more  
“ properly say, as the story goes, poor Madame  
“ de T. . . . . had been reading the Adventures  
“ of Robinson Crusoe, instead of Denon’s Travels  
“ in Egypt.” The Emperor laughed heartily, and  
afterwards several times related the anecdote him-  
self.

The conversation turned on the inventive malignity of Parisian society, and the fine story that was got up about the cabinet-maker, who awkwardly discovered to B . . . . . the concealed drawer of a bureau, which happened to contain many secrets connected with his own family: the violent anger of B . . . . . against *Ventre de Biche*, the sympathy expressed for him by Madame de V . . . . ., and the singular consolation she afforded him,—all were described. The Emperor was much amused by these details, most of which were new to him, and he expressed his

belief that the story was not entirely an invention. He once more repeated his censure of the saloons of Paris, which, he said, might truly be styled the infernal regions. He observed, that they kept up a constant system of slander and calumny, and that, therefore, they might with justice have engaged the constant attention of all the tribunals of correctional police in the capital.

The Emperor had now become animated, and he conversed for a considerable time. He happened to mention an officer whom, he said, he had not treated very well; and I ventured to observe that I believed he had, notwithstanding, been Aide-de-camp to a distinguished General. "What signifies that?" resumed the Emperor. "Don't you know," continued he, smiling, "that a general frequently has two aides-de-camp; one for the field, and one for the household?"

He said a great deal respecting the national inaptitude of the French to close a revolution, or to adhere to any fixed order of things; and he alluded to the celebrated affair of Mallet, which he jokingly said might be called a miniature or a caricature of his own return from the Isle of Elba. "Mallet's absurd plot," said he, "might have been truly regarded as a hoax. A prisoner of state, an obscure individual, effected his own liberation, and, in his turn, imprisoned the Prefect, and even the Minister of Police, those keepers of dungeons, and detectors of plots, who suffered

“ themselves to be caught in the snare like so  
“ many sheep. A Prefect of Paris, the born spon-  
“ sor of his department, and moreover a very  
“ devoted subject, readily lent himself to every  
“ plan for assembling a government that had no  
“ existence. Ministers, appointed by the con-  
“ spirators, were engaged in making their round  
“ of visits, when those who nominated them;  
“ were again safely lodged in prison. Finally, the  
“ inhabitants of the capital learned, in the morn-  
“ ing, the sort of political debauch that had taken  
“ place during the night, without having been in  
“ the least disturbed by it. Such an extravagant  
“ attempt,” said the Emperor, “ could never have  
“ produced any result. Even had it succeeded, it  
“ must have fallen, of itself, in the space of a few  
“ hours ; and the victorious conspirators would  
“ have thought only of escaping from amidst their  
“ success. I was, therefore, far less incensed  
“ at the attempt of the criminal, than at the  
“ facility with which those, who appeared most  
“ attached to me, had been prevailed on to be-  
“ come his accomplices. On my arrival, each  
“ candidly related to me the details that concerned  
“ himself, and which served to criminate all ! They  
“ frankly avowed that they had been caught, and  
“ had, for a moment, placed full faith in my over-  
“ throw. They did not deny that in the delirium  
“ of the moment, they had entered into the designs  
“ of the conspirators ; and they rejoiced with me at

“their happy escape. Not one of them mentioned  
“the slightest resistance, or the least effort made  
“to defend and perpetuate the existing govern-  
“ment. This seemed never to have entered their  
“heads : so accustomed were they to changes and  
“revolutions, that all were perfectly resigned to  
“the establishment of a new order of things. All  
“therefore changed countenance, and manifested  
“the utmost embarrassment; when, in a resolute  
“tone of voice, I said, ‘Well, Gentlemen, it appears  
“you thought my reign at an end; to that I have  
“nothing to say. But where were your oaths to  
“the King of Rome? What became of your prin-  
“ciples and doctrines? You make me tremble  
“for the future.’ I found it necessary to make an  
“example, were it only for the sake of putting  
“weak men on their guard for the future; and  
“judgment fell upon poor Frochot, the Prefect of  
“Police, who, I am sure, loved me well. Yet, at  
“the mere request of one of these mountebank  
“conspirators, instead of the resistance which his  
“duty required; instead of manifesting a firm de-  
“termination to perish at his post rather than  
“yield; he very contentedly issued orders for pre-  
“paring a place for the sitting of the new govern-  
“ment!—Indeed,” said the Emperor, “the readi-  
“ness with which the French people accommodate  
“themselves to change, is calculated to prolong  
“vicissitudes, which no other nation but them-  
“selves could endure. Thus, individuals of every

“ party seem to be well convinced, that all is not  
“ yet settled; and Europe shares this opinion,  
“ which is founded no less on our natural incon-  
“ stancy and volatility, than on the mass of events  
“ that have risen up during the last thirty years.”

*The Emperor's continued Indisposition and Confinement.—*

*He observes that he ought to have died at Moscow or  
Waterloo.—Eulogium on his Family.*

4th.—To-day, the Emperor would not receive any one during the whole of the morning. He sent for me at the hour he had appointed for taking the bath, during which, and for some time after, he conversed on the knowledge of the ancients, the historians by which it has been transmitted to modern times, the connecting links formed by different writers, &c. His reflections on this subject, all led to the conclusion, that the world was yet in its infancy, and human nature still more so. We then took a view of the structure of the globe, the irregularities of its surface, the unequal division of sea and land, the amount of its population, the scale by which that population was dispersed, the different political societies into which it was formed, &c. I calculated that Europe contained 170,000,000 of inhabitants. The Emperor remarked that he himself had governed 80,000,000; and, I added, that after the alliance with Prussia, he had marched at the head of more than 100,000,000. The Emperor then suddenly changed

the conversation. He asked for my atlas, and while he looked over it, he several times remarked that it was a truly invaluable work for youth.

Afterwards, when speaking of the wonders of his life, and the vicissitudes of his fortune, the Emperor remarked that he ought to have died at Moscow ; because, at that time, his military glory had experienced no reverse ; and his political career was unexampled in the history of the world. He then drew one of those rapid and animating pictures, which he sketches off with so much facility, and which frequently rise to a degree of sublimity. Observing that the countenance of one of the individuals, who happened to be present, was not exactly expressive of approbation, he said, " This is not your opinion ? You do not think I ought to have closed my career at Moscow ? " " No, Sire," was the reply ; " for in that case, history would have been deprived of the return from Elba, of the most generous and most heroic act that ever man performed ; of the grandest and most sublime event that the world ever witnessed." " Well," returned the Emperor, " there may be some truth in that ; but what say you to Waterloo ? Ought I not to have perished there ?"—" Sire," said the person whom he addressed, " if I have obtained pardon for Moscow, I do not see why I should not ask it for Waterloo also. The future is beyond the will and the power of man ; it is in the hands of God alone."

At another time, the Emperor spoke of the different members of his family, the little assistance he had received from them, the many embarrassments they had occasioned him, &c. He particularly alluded to the mistaken notion they had conceived, that being once placed at the head of a people, they should become identified with them, so as to prefer their interests to those of the common country. This idea, he said, might have originated in honourable feeling ; but it was most erroneous and mischievous in its application. In their mistaken notions of independence, the members of his family sometimes seemed to consider their power as detached, forgetting that they were merely parts of a great whole, whose views and interests they should have aided instead of opposed. "But, after all," continued he, "they were very young and inexperienced, "and were surrounded by snares, flatterers, and "intriguers, with secret and evil designs." Then, passing suddenly from their faults to their good qualities, he added, "And yet, if we judge from "analogy, what family, in similar circumstances, "would have acted better? Every one is not "qualified to be a statesman : that requires a combination of powers that does not often fall to the "lot of one. In this respect, all my brothers "were singularly situated ; they possessed at once "too much and too little talent. They felt themselves too strong to resign themselves blindly to

“ a guiding counsellor, and yet too weak to be left  
“ entirely to themselves. But take them all in all,  
“ I have certainly good reason to be proud of my  
“ family.

“ Joseph would have been an ornament to so-  
“ ciety in any country ; and Lucien would have  
“ been an honour to any political assembly.  
“ Jerome, as he advanced in life, would have de-  
“ veloped every qualification requisite in a sove-  
“ reign. Louis would have been distinguished in  
“ any rank or condition of life. My sister Eliza  
“ was endowed with masculine powers of mind :  
“ she must have proved herself a philosopher in  
“ her adverse fortune. Pauline, perhaps the most  
“ beautiful woman of her age, has been, and will  
“ continue to the end of her life, the most amiable  
“ creature in the world. As to my mother, she  
“ deserves all kind of veneration. How seldom  
“ is so numerous a family entitled to so much  
“ praise ! Add to this, that, setting aside the jar-  
“ ring of political opinions, we sincerely loved each  
“ other. For my part, I never ceased to cherish fra-  
“ ternal affection for them all ; and I am convinced  
“ that in their hearts they felt the same sentiments  
“ towards me, and that, in case of need, they would  
“ have given me every proof of it.”

After dinner, the Emperor received all his suite,  
and we remained with him for upwards of an hour.  
He was in bed ; but he conversed with facility, and  
was evidently better. We took leave of him with



the hope of soon seeing him recovered. We remarked that he had not dined with us for the space of twelve days; and that without him our lives, our hours, our moments were deranged and devoid of interest.

*Geography the Passion of the Moment.—State Bed arrived from London.—The Emperor calls it a Rat-Trap.—Anecdotes related by the English.—Letters from St. Helena, &c.*

5th.—The Emperor continued confined to his room. He sent for me, as he had done for several days past, at the hour appointed for taking his bath. He was somewhat relieved of the soreness in his mouth; but he was still occasionally troubled with toothache. He resumed the conversation of the preceding day, on the structure of the globe; &c. for the Emperor now evinced an absolute passion for geography. He took my map of the world, and remarked on the irregular distribution of land and sea. He paused for a time on the continent of Asia; and from the vast Pacific Ocean passed to the more contracted limits of the Atlantic. He started many questions relative to the variable and the trade winds, the monsoons of the Indian Ocean, the calm of the Pacific, the hurricanes of the Antilles, &c.; and he found at the respective places, on the map, the physical and speculative solutions which science furnishes on these subjects. This pleased him exceedingly, and he continued his

perusal of the map, making remarks as he went over it: "Tables," said he, "are of the highest use in assisting the mind to draw comparisons: they awaken and excite ideas. You have fallen on an excellent plan, in thus making your tables of history and geography embrace all the remarkable circumstances and phenomena connected with these sciences."

The Emperor wished to refer to some of the oldest books of travels; and the works of the monk Rubrugius, and the Italian Marco Polo were brought to him. He glanced over them, and remarked that they contained no information, and possessed no other merit than their old age.

On leaving the bath he proceeded to his bed-chamber, to see the grand bed that had been sent to him from London, and which had just been put up. It was surmounted by a sort of canopy, supported on four large posts, so high that it was found necessary to cut the feet before it could be put up in the Emperor's little bed-chamber, which it almost filled. Besides, it had, from some cause or other, a very disagreeable smell, and was altogether so bulky and unsteady, that it suggested the idea of a tottering castle. The Emperor said it was an absolute rat-trap; but, that he would take care not to be caught in it. He ordered it immediately to be removed; remarking, that he did not wish to be troubled with such lumber. It was accordingly taken down, and the old camp bed was

substituted in its place. The confusion and inconvenience occasioned by these changes put the Emperor very much out of humour.

In course of the day, I had a long conversation with an English seaman, an enthusiastic admirer of the Emperor, who related to me several anecdotes which pleased me the more as they were entirely new to me. But though not generally known, they are not the less true; for some of the facts the narrator had obtained from unquestionable authority, and to others he had himself been a witness. When I afterwards mentioned some of these particulars to the Emperor, he immediately recollected them and acknowledged their correctness. However, my informant assured me, that to his great astonishment, these anecdotes had been but little circulated in England; and that there, as well as in France, whatever reflected honour on Napoleon, or showed his character in an advantageous light, was lost by that fatality to which I have so often alluded: for calumny and falsehood constantly overwhelmed all that was good, beneath the mass of evil that was invented. The following are some of the anecdotes to which I have just now alluded.

“We were treated,” said my narrator “in the best manner possible. At Verdun, the depot of the English prisoners of war, we enjoyed the same privileges as the inhabitants. Verdun is a very pleasant town, and we found provisions and

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“ wine exceedingly cheap. We were allowed to  
“ walk several miles beyond the town, without the  
“ trouble of asking permission ; and we could, if  
“ we pleased, obtain leave to absent ourselves for  
“ several days at a time. In short, we were so  
“ well protected against all sorts of vexations, that  
“ the General under whose command we were  
“ placed, having been guilty of some irregularities  
“ in his treatment of us, was ordered to Paris, by  
“ the special command of Napoleon, and from fear  
“ of the punishment that awaited him he com-  
“ mitted suicide. It once happened that we re-  
“ ceived orders to confine ourselves to our lodgings,  
“ and we were informed that we should not be  
“ allowed to quit them for several days ; the reason  
“ assigned for this measure was, that the Emperor  
“ intended to pass through Verdun, and that it was  
“ not thought safe to allow him to be surrounded  
“ by so many of the enemy’s prisoners. Besides  
“ the disappointment of our curiosity (for we very  
“ much wished to see Napoleon), this order hurt  
“ us exceedingly. Do they distrust brave English  
“ seamen ? we thought. Is it possible that they  
“ confound us with assassins ? Be this as it would,  
“ we were doomed to be close prisoners ; when, on  
“ the day of Napoleon’s arrival, we were, to our  
“ surprise, informed that we were again at liberty,  
“ and that the Emperor very much disapproved of  
“ the order that had been given for our confine-  
“ ment. We eagerly thronged to see the Emperor,

“ and he passed by us unattended by any escort,  
“ with an air of perfect security, and even with an  
“ expression of kindness, which quite delighted us.  
“ Our acclamations were no less sincere than those  
“ of the French themselves.

“ Napoleon and Maria Louisa returning from  
“ their journey in Holland, arrived at Gevet on the  
“ Meuse, where several hundred were at that time  
“ assembled. A sudden storm arose; there was  
“ a heavy fall of rain, the river overflowed its  
“ banks, and the pontoon bridge was broken, and  
“ rendered impassable. However, the Emperor,  
“ anxious to continue his journey, and not being  
“ in the habit of thinking any thing impossible, re-  
“ solved to cross the river at all hazards. All the  
“ boatmen in the neighbourhood were collected  
“ together; but not one would attempt to cross.  
“ However,’ said Napoleon, ‘ I am determined to  
“ ‘ be on the other side of the river before noon.’  
“ He immediately ordered some of the principal  
“ English prisoners to be brought to him: ‘ Are  
“ ‘ there many of you here?’ said he, ‘ and are  
“ ‘ there any sailors among you?’ ‘ There are 500  
“ ‘ of us, and we are all seamen,’ was the reply.  
“ ‘ Well, I want to know whether you think it  
“ possible to cross the river, and whether you will  
“ undertake to convey me to the opposite bank.’  
“ It was acknowledged to be a hazardous attempt;  
“ but some of our veterans undertook to accomplish  
“ it. Napoleon got into the boat with a degree of

“ confidence that surprised us, and he reached the  
“ opposite bank in safety. He heartily thanked  
“ those who had rendered him this act of service,  
“ and ordered that they should be provided with  
“ new clothes. To this he added a pecuniary pre-  
“ sent, and granted them their liberty.

“ A young English sailor, seized with an ardent  
“ longing to return to his country, escaped from a  
“ depot, and succeeded in making his way to the  
“ sea coast, in the neighbourhood of Boulogne,  
“ where he concealed himself in the woods. His  
“ eager desire to return home suggested to him  
“ the idea of making a little boat, to enable him to  
“ reach some of the English cruizers, which he  
“ spent the greater part of the day in watching,  
“ from the tops of the trees on the sea shore. He  
“ was seized just at the moment when he was  
“ about to put to sea with his little boat, and to  
“ make a desperate attempt to secure his liberty.  
“ He was imprisoned on suspicion of being a spy  
“ or a robber. This circumstance reached the ears  
“ of Napoleon, who was then at Boulogne, and he  
“ felt a curiosity to see the boat, of which he heard  
“ so much. When it was shown to him, he could  
“ not bring himself to believe that any rational  
“ being would have ventured to put to sea with it.  
“ He ordered the sailor to be brought to him, and  
“ the young man declared that he had really in-  
“ tended to escape, with the aid of his boat, and the  
“ only favour he asked, was permission to execute

“his project. ‘You appear very eager to return to England,’ said the Emperor; ‘Perhaps you have left a sweetheart behind you?’ ‘No,’ replied the young man, ‘but I have a mother, at home, who is old and infirm, and I am anxious to return to her.’ ‘Well, you shall return,’ said Napoleon; and he immediately ordered that the young man should be provided with new clothes, and sent on board the first English cruizer that might appear in sight. He also directed, that he should be provided with a sum of money, as a present to his mother, remarking that she must be a good mother, to have so good a son.”\*

Among the many acts of kindness which the Emperor exercised towards the English, who were detained in France, there is one which happened to come within my own knowledge, and of which a Mr. Manning was the object. This gentleman, whom I knew very well in Paris, and who had been induced to travel for the sake of scientific investigation, thought he might obtain his liberty by addressing a petition to Napoleon, praying for

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\* Since my return to Europe, some Letters from St. Helena have been published, in which the above anecdotes are related, almost word for word. This and other circumstances induced me to make some inquiry respecting the publication; and I am enabled to affirm, that though anonymous, its contents are derived from the most authentic sources, and are entitled to full credit.

permission to visit the interior of Asia. His friends laughed at his simplicity ; but he turned the laugh against us when, at the expiration of a few weeks, he triumphantly informed us of the success of his application. I find it mentioned in Dr. O'Meara's work, that this same Mr. Manning, after a peregrination of several years, touched at St. Helena, on his return to Europe, and urgently requested leave to see Napoleon, in order to express his gratitude by laying a few presents at his feet, and answering any inquiries he might make respecting the Grand Lama, whom he had had an opportunity of visiting through the Emperor's indulgence.

*Physical Advantages of Russia.—Her political Power.—Remarks on India.—Pitt and Fox.—Ideas on political Economy.—Companies, or Free Trade.—M. de Suffren.—The Emperor's Remarks on the Navy.*

6th.—The Emperor continued in a state of convalescence, and he received some visitors about the middle of the day. I waited upon him, accompanied by Madame de Montholon. He conversed a great deal about the society of Paris, and related several anecdotes of the Tuileries.

In the evening, the Emperor again resumed his geographical observations. He dwelt particularly on Asia ; on the situation of Russia, and the facility with which the latter power might make an attempt on India, or even on China, and the alarm which she might, therefore, justly excite in the English.



He calculated the number of troops that Russia might employ, their probable point of departure, the route they would be likely to pursue, and the wealth they would obtain in such an enterprise. On all these subjects he made the most curious and valuable remarks. I very much regret my inability to record them here, for my notes, in this instance, afford me only slight hints, and I cannot trust to the accuracy of my memory in filling up the details.

The Emperor next adverted to the superiority of Russia over the rest of Europe, in regard to the immense powers she might call up, for the purpose of invasion ; together with the physical advantages of her situation under the pole, and backed by eternal bulwarks of ice, which, in case of need, would render her inaccessible. Russia, he said, could only be attacked during one third or fourth of the year ; while, on the contrary, she might throughout the whole twelve months, maintain attacks upon us : her assailants would encounter the rigours and privations of a frigid climate, and a barren soil, while her troops pouring down upon us would enjoy the fertility and charms of our southern region.

To these physical circumstances, continued the Emperor, may be added the advantage of an immense population, brave, hardy, devoted and passive, including those numerous uncivilized hordes, to whom privation and wandering are the natural state of existence. " Who can avoid shud-

“dering,” said he, “at the thought of such a vast mass, unassailable either on the flanks or in the rear, descending upon us with impunity; if triumphant, overwhelming every thing in its course; or if defeated, retiring amidst the cold and desolation that may be called its forces of reserve; and possessing every facility of issuing forth again at a future opportunity. Is not this the head of the Hydra, the Antæus of fable, which can only be subdued by seizing it bodily, and stifling it in the embrace. But where is the Hercules to be found? France alone could think of such an achievement, and it must be confessed we made but an awkward attempt at it.”

The Emperor was of opinion, that in the new political combination of Europe, the fate of that portion of the world depended entirely on the capacity and disposition of a single man. “Should there arise,” said he, “an Emperor of Russia, valiant, impetuous and intelligent; in a word, a Czar with a beard on his chin, (this he pronounced very emphatically,) Europe is his own. He may commence his operations on the German territory, at 100 leagues from the two capitals, Berlin and Vienna, whose sovereigns are his only obstacles. He secures the alliance of the one by force, and with his aid subdues the other, by a single stroke. He then finds himself in the heart of Germany, amidst the princes of the second rank, most of whom are either his relations or

“ dependants. In the meanwhile, he may, should  
“ he think it necessary, throw a few firebrands  
“ across the Alps, on the soil of Italy, ripe for ex-  
“ plosion, and he may then march triumphantly to  
“ Paris to proclaim himself the new liberator. I  
“ know if I were in such a situation, I would un-  
“ dertake to reach Calais in a given time, and by  
“ regular marching stations, there to become the  
“ master and arbiter of Europe . . . .” Then after a  
few moments’ silence, he added, “ Perhaps, my dear  
“ Las Cases, you may be tempted to say, as the  
“ minister of Pyrrhus said to his master, ‘ *And  
“ after all, to what purpose ?*’ My answer is, to  
“ establish a new state of society, and to avert  
“ great misfortunes. This is a blessing which  
“ Europe expects and solicits. The old system is  
“ ended, and the new one is not consolidated, and  
“ will not be so until after long and furious con-  
“ vulsions.”

The Emperor was again silent, and after measuring, with his compasses, the distances on the map, he observed, that Constantinople was, from her situation, calculated to be the centre and seat of universal dominion.

He then alluded to the English settlements in India, and asked me, whether I knew any thing of their history. I told him what little I knew on this subject.

Queen Elizabeth created an East India Company by virtue of her royal prerogative.

A century later, the parliament created another. However as these two companies were found to injure each other by their competitions, they were united under one charter.

In 1716, the Company obtained from the sovereigns of India, the famous firman or Indian charter, authorizing them to export or import free of all duty.

In 1741, the Company first commenced military interference in the affairs of India, in opposition to the French Company, who took the adverse side. Since then, the two nations have constantly waged war in that distant land, whenever a contest arose between them in Europe. The French had a short interval of success in the war of 1740, suffered severe defeats in 1755, maintained a footing of equality in 1779, and at length were utterly subdued during the revolutionary war.

The English East India Company now commands the whole peninsula, including a population of more than 60,000,000 of which 20,000,000 are its subjects, 20,000,000 its tributaries or allies, and the rest are involved in its system and obliged to go with it.\*

Such is the famous East India Company, which at once acts the part of merchant and sovereign; whose wealth is derived both from commercial

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\* This was written in 1816, before those events took place in India, by which the subjection of the whole peninsula seems to have been accomplished.

profits, and territorial revenues. Hence it results that the merchant is frequently actuated by the ambition of the sovereign, while the sovereign plans, directs, and executes with the cupidity of the merchant. In these peculiar circumstances, in this two-fold character, we may trace the cause of the progress, measures, conflicts, contradictions, disorders, and clamours, that compose the history of this celebrated Company.

The English East India Company long reigned absolute and independent. It was and still continues to be represented by a Court of Directors, chosen from among the proprietors. These Directors delegate and direct in India, by despatches, a regency or council consisting of a governor and some assessors, who represent and exercise the sovereign authority.

In 1767, the crown for the first time set forward claims on the territory and revenues of India; but the Company purchased its desistance by a subsidy equivalent to ten or twelve millions of francs.

About the year 1773, the East India Company, finding its affairs extremely deranged, made application to Parliament, which took advantage of its embarrassment to secure its dependance. The Company's possessions were subjected to new political, judicial, and financial regulations, which, however, produced no very satisfactory result. The Indian peninsula was thrown into the utmost degree of disorder; and the establishment of a

Supreme Court of Justice, operating as a rival to the Sovereign Council, and appointed for the purpose of introducing English laws in the country, particularly excited the dissatisfaction and alarm of the natives. The fury of parties and their reciprocal accusations and complaints, transmitted to us a picture of the odious measures, the boundless rapacity and atrocious tyranny of this stormy period, which is the least honourable in the history of the East India Company.

In 1783, with the view of providing a radical remedy for these evils, Mr. Fox, who was then prime minister, brought forward his famous bill, the failure of which, occasioned him to quit the ministry. Mr. Pitt, who had been the opponent of this bill, in the following year introduced another, which laid the foundation of his celebrity, and which still continues to regulate the affairs of the East India Company. Fox's bill would, in fact, have been a judicial seizure; it would have placed all the Company's property in the hands of a managing committee, who were to liquidate its debts, and dispose of all employments. The members of this Committee, appointed by the King or by Parliament, were to be irremovable, and were to sit until they should have established the affairs of the Company on a better footing. A general outcry was raised against these propositions, which, it was said, would place important interests, vast patronage, and enormous influence in the hands of

a few individuals. It was said that the bill was calculated to introduce a fourth power in the state, and to set up a rival to the crown itself. Mr. Fox was even accused of a wish to establish himself permanently in office, by creating a sort of concealed sovereignty, superior to that of the King; for Fox being at this time Minister, and having parliament under his control, he would have appointed and ruled the proposed Committee. Through the influence of this Committee, he would have composed and governed parliament, and with the aid of parliament, he would have established and perpetuated the Committee; in short, there was no end to the power which he would thus have exercised. A violent clamour arose, and the King made the business a personal matter. He appealed to his own friends, to those individuals in the House of Peers who were sincerely attached to him, and regarded the measures proposed as an attack on his very existence. The bill failed, and Fox quitted the ministry.

Pitt was more adroit, and assumed the appearance of greater moderation. In his bill, he merely contented himself with placing the Company under a sort of guardianship; submitting all its operations to a Committee appointed to revise and countersign them. He left to the Company the power of nomination to all employments; but reserved to the crown the appointment of the Governor General, and the veto on all other nominations.

This Committee, which was appointed by the King, formed a new branch in the administration. Complaints were now raised against the vast increase of influence which this measure would afford to the royal authority, and which, it was affirmed, would infallibly break the constitutional equilibrium. Fox had been reproached for having wished to keep this influence wholly apart from the King; and Pitt was accused of having placed it entirely in his hands. All that the one had wished to do for the people, it was said, the other had done for the monarch. Indeed, these two distinct characters, these two opposite evils, constituted the whole difference between the two bills, which produced a decisive battle between the Whigs and Tories. Mr. Pitt gained the victory, and the Tories triumphed.

The faults of Fox's bill still remain hypothetical, since they were never put to the test; but the evils that were predicted from Pitt's measures, have been formally fulfilled. The equilibrium of power has been broken, the true English constitution has ceased to exist, the royal authority daily augmented has encroached in every direction, and is now marching unimpeded on the high road to arbitrary and absolute power.

The Ministers command in Parliament a majority, which they have themselves created, which perpetuates their power and legalizes their arbitrary measures. Thus, English liberty is daily



more and more fettered by the very forms which were intended for its defence ; and the future, instead of affording a prospect of remedy, appears to threaten greater misfortunes ! How could Fox's plan have produced more fatal results ? For it may truly be said, that all the great encroachments that have been made on the English constitution, have been occasioned by the interests of India. Surely the weight which Fox wished to secure to the popular side, could not have been more disastrous to the cause of liberty, then that with which Pitt surcharged the royal prerogative !

Consequently, it is now often boldly asserted, that Fox was in the right, that he was wiser, and could not have been so mischievous as his rival.

The names of Pitt and Fox having been thus introduced, the Emperor dwelt long on the characters, systems, and measures, of those two celebrated statesmen ; and concluded with the following remarks, which had already fallen from him on several previous occasions : “ Pitt,” said he, “ was “ the master of European policy ; he held in his “ hand the moral fate of nations ; but he made an “ ill use of his power. He kindled the fire of discord throughout the universe ; and his name, “ like that of Erostratus, will be inscribed in history, amidst flames, lamentations, and tears ! . . . “ The first sparks of our revolution, then the resistance that was opposed to the national will, “ and, finally, the horrid crimes that ensued, all

“ were his work. Twenty-five years of universal  
“ conflagration ; the numerous coalitions that  
“ added fuel to the flame ; the revolution and de-  
“ vastation of Europe ; the bloodshed of nations ;  
“ the frightful debt of England, by which all these  
“ horrors were maintained ; the pestilential system  
“ of loans, by which the people of Europe are  
“ oppressed ; the general discontent that now pre-  
“ vails ;—all must be attributed to Pitt. Posterity  
“ will brand him as a scourge ; and the man,  
“ so lauded in his own time, will hereafter be  
“ regarded as the genius of evil. Not that I  
“ consider him to have been wilfully atrocious,  
“ or doubt his having entertained the conviction  
“ that he was acting right. But St. Bartholo-  
“ mew had also its conscientious advocates ; the  
“ Pope and Cardinals celebrated it by a *te deum* ;  
“ and we have no reason to doubt their having  
“ done so in perfect sincerity. Such is the weak-  
“ ness of human reason and judgment ! But that  
“ for which posterity will, above all, execrate the  
“ memory of Pitt, is the hateful school that he has  
“ left behind him, its insolent machiavelism, its  
“ profound immorality, its cold egotism, and its  
“ utter disregard of justice and human happiness.  
“ Whether it be the effect of admiration and  
“ gratitude, or the result of mere instinct and  
“ sympathy, Pitt is, and will continue to be, the  
“ idol of the European aristocracy. There was, in-  
“ deed, a touch of the Sylla in his character. His

“system has kept the popular cause in check, and brought about the triumph of the patricians. As to Fox, one must not look for his model among the ancients. He is himself a model, and his principles will sooner or later rule the world.”

The Emperor said a great deal about Fox, and expressed the great attachment he entertained for him. He had had his bust put up at Malmaison, before he knew him personally. He concluded with a remark, which he used often to make, at different times, and in various ways: “Certainly,” said he, “the death of Fox was one of the fatalities of my career. Had his life been prolonged, affairs would have taken a totally different turn; the cause of the people would have triumphed, and we should have established a new order of things in Europe.”

Returning to the subject of the East India Company, the Emperor observed that the question respecting the comparative advantage of the monopoly of a company, or free trade for all, was an important subject of consideration. “A company,” said he, “places great advantages in the hands of a few individuals, who may attend very well to their own interests, while they neglect those of the mass. Thus every company soon degenerates into an oligarchy: it is always the friend of power, to which it is ready to lend every assistance. In this point of view, companies were exclusively suited to old times and old systems.”

"Free trade, on the contrary, is favourable to the interests of all classes; it excites the imagination and rouses the activity of a people; it is identical with equality, and naturally leads to independence. In this respect, it is most in unison with our modern system."

The Emperor then discussed several points of political economy which are treated by Smith in his *Wealth of Nations*. He admitted that they were true in principle; but proved them to be false in application. Unfortunately, the scantiness of my notes here prevents me from entering into particulars.

"Formerly," said he, "only one kind of property was known, that which consisted in landed possessions; afterwards, a second kind rose up, that of industry or manufactures, which is now in opposition to the first; then arose a third, that which is derived from the burdens levied on the people, and which, distributed by the neutral and impartial hands of government, might obviate the evils of monopoly on the part of the two others, intervene between them, and prevent them from coming into actual conflict." This great contest of modern times, he called the war of the *fields* against the *factories*, of the *castles* against the *counting-houses*.

"It is," said he, "because men will not acknowledge this great revolution in property, because they persist in closing their eyes on these truths,

“that so many acts of folly are now committed,  
“and that nations are exposed to so many dis-  
“orders. The world has sustained a great shock,  
“and it now seeks to return to a settled state.  
“The whole cause of the universal agitation, that  
“at present prevails, may be explained in a few  
“words: the ship’s cargo has been shifted, her  
“ballast has been removed from the stem to the  
“stern; hence are produced those violent oscilla-  
“tions which may occasion a wreck in the first  
“storm, if obstinate efforts are made to work the  
“vessel according to the usual method, and with-  
“out obtaining a new balance.”

This day has been rich in materials for my journal. Besides the subjects to which I have already alluded, several others were introduced. When speaking of India, and the English East India Company, the name of M. de Suffren was mentioned.

The Emperor had had no opportunity of forming a correct idea of the character of this officer: he had heard of his having rendered important services to his country, and for that reason alone, he (Napoleon) had been very liberal to his family. The Emperor questioned me respecting Suffren. I had not known him personally, and therefore I could only report what I had heard of him from other individuals in the navy. It was admitted that, since the time of Louis XIV., M. de Suffren was the only officer who bore a resem-

blance to the distinguished men of the brilliant period of our navy.

Suffren possessed genius, invention, ardour, ambition, and inflexible steadiness; he was one of those men, whom nature has rendered fit for any thing. I have heard very shrewd and sensible persons say, that his death in the year 1789, might have been looked upon as a national calamity; that had he been admitted to the King's Council in the critical moment, he might have brought matters to a very different result. Suffren, who was harsh, capricious, egotistical, and a very unpleasant messmate, was loved by nobody, though he was valued and admired by all.

He was a man with whom no one could live on good terms. He was impatient of control, fond of condemning every thing, and while he incessantly declaimed against the utility of tactics, he proved himself to be a perfect tactician. In short, he evinced all the irritability and restlessness of genius and ambition deprived of elbowroom.

On obtaining the command of the Indian squadron, he went to take leave of the King, and one of the officers of the palace could with difficulty open a passage for him through the crowd. "I thank you," said he to the Usher, grunting and sporting in his usual way; "but when I come out Sir, you shall see that I know how to clear the way for myself." And he spoke truly.

On his arrival in India, he opened a new theatre

for the arms of France, and performed prodigies, which perhaps have not been duly appreciated in Europe. He set on foot measures and plans of command hitherto unknown : taking every thing upon himself, hazarding all, inventing all, and foreseeing all. He broke and created his officers as he thought proper ; fitted out and manned ships that had long since been condemned ; and found a wintering station on the spot, when, according to the old routine, the ships would have been obliged to sail to the Isle of France, a distance of twelve or fifteen leagues. Finally, he broke through all rules, approached the coast, took on board troops who had been fighting the old enemy, and after they had assisted him in opposing the English squadron, he conveyed them back to their camp, to resume the contest by land. Thus the French flag assumed a superiority that disconcerted the enemy. “ Oh,” exclaimed the Emperor, “ why did not Suffren live till my time, or why did not I light on a man of his stamp ? I would have made him our Nelson. I was constantly seeking for a man qualified to raise the character of the French navy ; but I could never find one. There is in the navy a peculiarity, a technicality that impeded all my conceptions. If I proposed a new idea, immediately Ganthaume, and the whole Marine Department, were up against me. — ‘ Sire, that cannot be. ’ — Why not ? — ‘ Sire, the winds do not admit of it. ’ then objections

“were started respecting calms and currents, and  
“I was obliged to stop short. How is it possible  
“to maintain a discussion with those, whose lan-  
“guage we do not comprehend? How often, in  
“the Council of State, have I reproached naval  
“officers with taking an undue advantage of this  
“circumstance. To hear them talk, one might  
“have been led to suppose that it was necessary to  
“be born in the navy to know any thing about it.  
“Yet I often told them, that had it been in my  
“power to have performed a voyage to India with  
“them, I should, on my return, have been as  
“familiar with their profession as with the field of  
“battle. But they could not credit this. They  
“always repeated, that no man could be a good  
“sailor unless he were brought up to it from his  
“cradle ; and they at length prevailed on me to  
“adopt a plan, about which I long hesitated,  
“namely, the enrolment of several thousands of  
“children from six to eight years of age.

“My resistance was vain ; I was compelled to  
“yield to the unanimous voice, while I assured  
“those who urged me to this measure, that I left  
“all the responsibility with them. What was the  
“result? It excited clamour and discontent on  
“the part of the public, who turned the whole  
“affair into ridicule, styling it the massacre of the  
“innocents, &c. Subsequently, De Winter, Ver-  
“buel, all the great naval commanders of the  
“north, and others, assured me that from eighteen



“to twenty (the age for the conscription), was  
“early enough to begin to learn the duties of a  
“sailor. The Danes and Swedes employ their  
“soldiers in the navy. With the Russians, the  
“fleet is but a portion of the army; which  
“affords the invaluable advantage of keeping up  
“a standing army, and for a twofold object.

“I had myself,” added he, “planned something  
“of the kind, when I created my crews for men of  
“war; but what obstacles had I to encounter;  
“what prejudices had I to subdue; what perse-  
“verance was I obliged to exert, before I could  
“succeed in clothing the sailors in uniform, form-  
“ing them into regiments, and drilling them by  
“military exercise. I was told that I should ruin  
“all. And yet, can there be a greater advantage  
“than for one country to possess both an army and  
“a navy? The men, thus disciplined, were not  
“worse sailors than the rest; while, at the same  
“time, they were the best soldiers. They were, in  
“case of need, prepared to serve as sailors, sol-  
“diers, artillerymen, pontooneers, &c. If, instead  
“of being thus opposed by obstacles, I had found  
“in the navy a man capable of entering into my  
“views, and promoting my ideas, what impor-  
“tance might we not have obtained! But, during  
“my reign, I never found a naval officer who  
“could depart from the old routine, and strike out  
“a new course. I was much attached to the navy;  
“I admired the courage and patriotism of our

“seamen ; but I never found between them and  
 “me an intermediate agent, who could have  
 “brought them into operation in the way I  
 “wished.”

*Napoleon's Imperial System.—Prefects.—Auditors of the  
 Council of State.—The Emperor's Motives in granting  
 lucrative Appointments.—His future Intentions.*

7th.—Speaking of his imperial system, Napoleon observed that it had been the means of creating the most compact government, establishing the most rapid circulation in all its parts, and calling forth the most nervous efforts that had ever been witnessed. “And nothing short of this,” said he, “would have enabled us to triumph over such numerous difficulties, and to achieve so many wonders. The organization of the Prefectures, their operations, and the results they produced, were admirable. One and the same impulse was simultaneously communicated to more than 40,000,000 of men ; and, by the help of those centres of local activity, the movement was no less rapid and energetic at the extremities than in the heart itself.

“Foreigners who visited France, and who were capable of observing and discerning, were filled with astonishment. To this uniformity of action prevailing over an immense extent of territory, must be attributed those prodigious efforts

“ and immense results, which were acknowledged  
“ to have been hitherto inconceivable.

“ The Prefects, with their local authority and  
“ resources, were themselves emperors on a small  
“ scale. As their whole power proceeded from the  
“ main spring, of which they were only the com-  
“ municating channels; as their influence was not  
“ personal, but was derived from their temporary  
“ functions; as they had no connexion with  
“ the district over which their jurisdiction ex-  
“ tended; they presented all the advantages of  
“ the great absolute agents of the old system,  
“ without any of their disadvantages. It was  
“ necessary to create this power,” continued the  
Emperor, “ for the force of circumstances had  
“ placed me in the situation of a dictator. It  
“ was requisite that all the filaments issuing from  
“ me, should be in harmony with the first cause,  
“ or my system would have failed in its result.  
“ The network which I spread over the French  
“ territory, required a violent tension and prodigious  
“ power of elasticity, in order to make the  
“ terrible blows that were constantly levelled at  
“ us, rebound to distant points. Thus most of  
“ the springs of my machinery were merely institutions  
“ connected with dictatorship, and measures for  
“ warlike defence. When the moment  
“ should have arrived for slackening the reins, all  
“ my connecting filaments would have relaxed  
“ sympathetically, and we should then have pro-

“ceded to our peace establishment and local institutions. If we yet possessed none of these, it was because circumstances did not admit of them. Our immediate fall would have been the infallible consequence, had we been provided with them at the outset. It must not be supposed that the nation was all at once prepared to make a proper use of her liberty. Both with respect to education and character, the bulk of the people were imbued with too many of the prejudices of past times. We were daily improving, but we had yet much to acquire. At the time of the revolutionary explosion, the patriots, generally speaking, were such by nature and by instinct: with them patriotism was an innate sentiment, a passion, a phrensy. Hence the effervescence, the extravagance, the fury that marked the period. But it is vain to attempt to naturalize and mature the modern system by blows or jumps. It must be implanted with education, and must take root with reason and conviction; and this will infallibly take place in course of time, because modern principles are founded on natural truths. But,” added he, “the men of our time were eager for the possession of power, which they exercised with a domineering spirit, to say no worse, while on the other hand they were ready to become the slaves of those who were above them! . . . We have always wavered between these two ex-

“tremes. In course of my journeys, I was often  
“obliged to say to the high officers who were  
“about my person:—pray let the Prefect speak  
“for himself. If I went to some sub-division of a  
“department, I then found it necessary to say to  
“the prefect:—let the sub-prefect or the mayor  
“make his reply. So eager were all to eclipse  
“each other, and so little did they perceive the  
“advantage that might arise from direct commu-  
“nication with me! If I sent my great officers or  
“ministers to preside at the electoral colleges, I  
“always advised them not to get nominated as  
“candidates for the Senate, as their seats were  
“secured to them by other means, and I wished  
“that they should resign the honour of the nomi-  
“nation to the principal individuals of the pro-  
“vinces: but they never conformed with my  
“wishes.”

This reminded me of a misunderstanding that once took place, between the Emperor and the Minister Decrès, on the subject here alluded to. The Emperor having expressed displeasure at the nomination of the Minister:—“Sire,” replied the latter, “your influence is more powerful than your will. I in vain resisted, and assured them that you wished these nominations to be made among themselves. They insisted on shewing deference to your choice, and if you send me back, I shall only be nominated over again.”

“I granted,” said Napoleon, “enormous salaries

“ to Prefects and others ; but with regard to my  
“ liberality on this head, it is necessary to dis-  
“ tinguish between what was systematic, and what  
“ was incidental. The latter forced me to grant  
“ lucrative appointments ; the former would ulti-  
“ mately have enabled me to obtain gratuitous  
“ services. At the first outset, when the object  
“ was to conciliate individuals, and to re-establish  
“ some kind of society and morality, liberal sa-  
“ laries, absolute fortunes, were indispensable ;  
“ but the result being obtained, and in course of  
“ time the natural order of things being restored,  
“ my intention, on the contrary, would have been  
“ to render almost all high public duties gratuitous.  
“ I would have discarded those needy individuals,  
“ who cannot be their own masters, and whose  
“ urgent wants engender political immorality. I  
“ would have wrought such a change in opinion,  
“ that public posts should have been sought after for  
“ the mere honour of filling them. The functions  
“ of magistrate or justice of the peace would have  
“ been discharged by men of fortune, who being  
“ guided solely by duty, philanthropy, and honour-  
“ able ambition, would have afforded the surest  
“ pledge of independence. It is this that consti-  
“ tutes the dignity and majesty of a nation, that  
“ exalts her character, and establishes public mo-  
“ rals. Such a change had become indispen-  
“ sable in France, and the dislike of getting  
“ into place might have been considered the fore-

“runner of our return to political morality. I  
“have been informed, that the mania of place-  
“hunting has crossed the sea, and that the con-  
“tagion has been communicated to our neighbours.  
“The English of former days were as much supe-  
“rior to this kind of meanness, as the people of  
“the United States now are. The love of place  
“is the greatest check to public morals. A man  
“who solicits a public post, feels his independence  
“sold beforehand. In England, the greatest fami-  
“lies, the whole peerage disdain not to hunt after  
“places. Their excuse is, that the enormous bur-  
“dens of taxation deprive them of the means of  
“living without additions to their income. Pitiful  
“pretence! It is because their principles are more  
“decayed than their fortunes. When people of a  
“certain rank stoop to solicit public posts for the  
“sake of emolument, there is an end to all indepen-  
“dence and dignity of national character. In France,  
“the shocks and commotions of our revolution  
“might have afforded an apology for such conduct.  
“All had been unsettled, and all felt the necessity  
“of re-establishing themselves. To promote this  
“object, with the least possible offence to delicacy  
“of feeling, I was induced to attach considerable  
“emolument and high honour to all public posts.  
“But in course of time, I intended to work a  
“change by the mere force of opinion. And this  
“was by no means impossible. Every thing must  
“yield to the influence of power, when it is di-

“rected to objects truly just, honourable, and  
“great.

“I was preparing a happy reign for my son.  
“For his sake I was rearing in the new school,  
“the numerous class of auditors of the Council of  
“State. Their education being completed, they  
“would, on attaining the proper age, have filled  
“all the public posts in the Empire; thus con-  
“firmed in modern principles, and improved by  
“the example of their precursors. They would  
“all have been twelve or fifteen years older than  
“my son, who would by this means have been  
“placed between two generations, and all their  
“advantages: maturity, experience, and prudence  
“above him; youth, promptitude, and activity  
“below him.”

Here I could not refrain from expressing my  
astonishment, that the Emperor should never have  
thrown out a hint of the grand and important  
objects he had in contemplation. “What would  
“have been the use of promulgating my inten-  
“tions,” said he; “I should have been styled a  
“quack, accused of insinuation and subtilty, and  
“have fallen into discredit. Situated as I was,  
“deprived of hereditary authority, and of the illu-  
“sion called legitimacy, I was compelled to avoid  
“entering the lists with my opponents; I was  
“obliged to be bold, imperious, and decisive.  
“You have told me that in your Faubourg, they  
“used to say, *Why is he not legitimate?* If I



"had been so, I certainly could not have done more than I did; but my conduct might have appeared more amiable."

*La Vendée.—Charette.—Lamarque.—Tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles.—Real Tragedies among the Romans.—Seneca's Medea.—Singular Fact.*

8th.—To-day the Emperor dictated to one of his suite, by which we were very much gratified, for it was a proof that he felt himself better.

I attended him after dinner. The exertion of dictating seemed to have roused his spirits. He was in a very talkative mood; and we conversed together, walking backward and forward in his chamber. The troubles of La Vendée, and the men who had been distinguished in them, formed the principal topics of discourse.

Charette was the only individual to whom the Emperor attached particular importance. "I have read a history of La Vendée," said he, "and if the details and portraits were correct, Charette was the only great character, the true hero of that remarkable episode of our revolution, which, if it presented great misfortunes, at least did not sacrifice our glory. In the wars of La Vendée, Frenchmen destroyed each other; but they did not degrade themselves: they received aid from foreigners; but they did not stoop to the disgrace of marching under their banners, and receiving daily pay for merely executing their commands. Yes,"

continued he, "Charette impressed me with the idea of a great character. I observed, that he on several occasions acted with uncommon energy and intrepidity. He betrayed genius." I mentioned, that I had known Charette very well in my youth; had been guards of the marine together at Brest, and for a long time we shared the same chamber, and messed at the same table. The brilliant career and exploits of Charette, very much astonished all who had formerly been acquainted with him. We looked upon him as a common-place sort of man, devoid of information, ill-tempered, and extremely indolent; and we all, with one accord, pronounced him to belong to the class of insignificant beings. It is true that when he began to rise into celebrity, we recollected a circumstance which certainly indicated decision of character. When Charette was first called into service, during the American war, and while yet a mere youth, he sailed out of Brest on board a cutter during the winter. The cutter lost her mast; and to a vessel of that description, such an accident was equivalent to certain destruction. The weather was very stormy. Death seemed inevitable; and the sailors, throwing themselves on their knees, lost all presence of mind, and refused to make any effort to save themselves. Charette, notwithstanding his extreme youth, killed one of the men, in order to compel the rest to make the necessary exertions. This dreadful example had the desired effect, and the vessel was saved. "You

“see,” said the Emperor, “true decision of character always develops itself in critical circumstances. Here was the spark that distinguished the hero of La Vendée. Men’s dispositions are often misunderstood. There are sleepers whose waking is terrible. Kleber was an habitual slumberer; but, at the needful moment, he never failed to awake like a lion.” I added, that I had often heard Charette relate that, in a moment of extreme danger, the whole crew of the cutter, by a spontaneous impulse, made a vow to go in their shirts and barefooted, to carry a taper to our Lady of Recouvrance at Brest, if she would vouchsafe to ensure their safety. “And you may believe it or not as you please,” added Charette, with great simplicity; “but the fact is, they had no sooner uttered their prayer, than the wind suddenly abated, and from that moment we were inspired with the hope of preservation.” On their return to land, the sailors, headed by their officers, devoutly fulfilled their vow. This was not the only miraculous circumstance connected with the little cutter. It was in the month of December, and the night was long and dark. The vessel had got entangled among ridges, and being deprived of her mast and all nautical aid, she sailed on at hazard, and the crew had resigned themselves to the will of fate, when they unexpectedly heard the ringing of a bell. They sounded, and finding but little depth of water, they cast anchor. What

was their surprise and joy, when they found themselves, at daybreak, at the mouth of the river of Landerneau! The bell they had heard, was that of the neighbouring parish church. The cutter had miraculously escaped the numerous sand banks that are dispersed about the entrance of Brest: she had been carried through the narrow inlet of the port, had passed three or four hundred ships that were lying in the roads, and had at length found a calm station at the mouth of a river. "This," said the Emperor, "shews the difference between the blindfold efforts of man, and the certain course of nature. That at which you express so much surprise, must necessarily have happened. It is very probable, that with the full power of exerting the utmost skill, the confusion and errors of the moment would have occasioned the wreck of the vessel; whereas, in spite of so many adverse chances, nature saved her. She was borne onward by the tide; the force of the current carried her precisely through the middle of each channel, so that she could not possibly have been lost."

Again alluding to the war of La Vendée, the Emperor mentioned that he had been withdrawn from the army of the Alps, for the purpose of being transferred to that of La Vendée; but, that he preferred resigning his commission to entering a service where he conceived he should only be concurring in mischief, without the probability of

obtaining any personal benefit. He said, that one of the first acts of his Consulate had been to quell the troubles in La Vendée. He did much for that unfortunate department, the inhabitants of which were very grateful to him ; and when he passed through it, even the priests appeared to be sincerely favourable to him. " Thus," continued the Emperor, " the late insurrections did not present the same character as the first. Their prominent feature was not blind fanaticism, but merely passive obedience to a ruling aristocracy. Be this as it may, Lamarque, whom I sent to La Vendée at the height of the crisis, performed wonders, and even surpassed my hopes." What might not have been his influence in the great contest ; for the most distinguished chiefs of La Vendée, those who are doubtless at this moment enjoying the favours of the court, acknowledged, through Lamarque, Napoleon as Emperor, even after Waterloo, even after his abdication ! Was it that Lamarque was ignorant of the real state of things, or was it merely a whim on the part of the conqueror ? At all events, Lamarque is in exile : he is one of the thirty-eight ; because it is easier to proscribe than to conquer."

The Emperor dined with us to-day, for the first time since his illness, that is to say, for the space of sixteen days. Our dinner was therefore a sort of *fête* ; but we could not help remarking, with

regret, the change in the Emperor's countenance, which presented obvious traces of the ill effects of his long confinement.

After dinner we resumed our readings, which had been so long suspended. The Emperor read the *Agamemnon* of *Æschylus*, which he very much admired for its great force and simplicity. We were particularly struck with the graduation of terror which characterizes the productions of this father of tragedy. It was observed that this was the first spark to which the light of the modern drama may be traced.

*Agamemnon* being ended, the Emperor asked for the *Ædipus* of *Sophocles*, which also interested us exceedingly; and the Emperor expressed his regret at not having had it performed at *St. Cloud*.

*Talma* had always opposed the idea; but the Emperor was sorry that he had relinquished it. "Not," said he, "that I wished to correct our drama by antique models. Heaven forbid! But I merely wished to have opportunity of judging how far ancient composition would have harmonized with modern notions." He said he was convinced that such a performance would have afforded pleasure; and he made several remarks on the impression that was likely to be produced on modern taste, by the Greek chorusses, *Coryphæi*, &c.

He next turned to *Voltaire's* *Ædipus*, on which he bestowed high commendation. This piece, he

said, contained the finest scene in the French drama. As to its faults, the absurd passion of Philoctetes for example, they must not, he said, be attributed to the poet, but to the manners of the age, and the great actresses of the day, to whose laws a dramatic writer is obliged to submit.

This eulogium of Voltaire rather surprised us: it was something novel and singular in the mouth of the Emperor.

At eleven o'clock, after the Emperor had retired to bed, he sent for me, and resumed his conversation on the ancient and modern drama; on which he made many curious remarks.

In the first place, he expressed his surprise that the Romans should have had no tragedies; but then again, he observed, that tragedy, in dramatic representation, would have been ill calculated to rouse the feelings of the Romans, since they performed real tragedy in their circusses. "The combats of the gladiators," said he, "the sight of men consigned to the fury of wild beasts, were far more terrible than all our dramatic horrors put together. These, in fact, were the only tragedies suited to the iron nerves of the Romans."

However, it was observed, that the Romans possessed some dramatic essays, produced by Seneca. By the bye, it is a curious fact, that in Seneca's *Medea*, the chorus distinctly predicts the discovery of America, which took place 1,400

years after that drama was written. In the passage here alluded to, it is said, "A new Tiphys, a son of the earth, will, in ages to come, discover remote regions towards the west, and Thule will no longer be the extremity of the universe."\*

*The Emperor considerably better.—Infernal Machine Story.*

—*Madame R . . . . . de St. J . . . d'A . . . . . — The two Empresses.—Josephine's Extravagance.—Characteristic Anecdotes of the Emperor.*

9th.—To-day the Emperor felt himself infinitely better. He was surrounded by all his suite, and he began to talk of the prodigies of his early career, which, he said, must have produced a great impression in the world. "So great an impression," said an individual present, "that some were induced to regard them as supernatural." On this subject, the following anecdote was related: At the time of the explosion of the infernal machine, a person, who had just heard the news, called at a house in a certain quarter of the capital, and hastily entering the drawing-room, in which a party was assembled, he informed the com-

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\* . . . . . venient annis

Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus

Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens

Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos

Detegat orbes, nec sit terris ultima Thule.

*End of the Chorus of the 2d Act of  
Seneca's Medea.*



pany that Napoleon was no more ; and after giving an account of the event that had just taken place, he concluded by saying : " He is fairly blown up." " He blown up !" exclaimed an old Austrian officer, who had eagerly listened to all that was said, and who had been a witness to many of the dangers which the young General of the army of Italy had so miraculously escaped ; " he blown up ! " Ah ! you know a great deal about it. I venture to say that he is, at this very moment, as well as any of us. I know him and all his tricks of " old !"

The name of Madame R . . . . . de St. J . . . d'A . . . . . having been mentioned, an individual present informed the Emperor how much attachment she had evinced for him during his stay at the Isle of Elba. " How ! She ? " exclaimed the Emperor, with mingled surprise and satisfaction. — " Yes, Sire. " — " Poor lady ! " said he, in a tone of deep regret ; " and yet how ill I treated her ! " Well ! this at least repays me for the ingratitude of those renegades, on whom I lavished so many favours . . . !" Then, after a few moments' silence, he said, significantly, " It is very certain, that one can never know people's characters and sentiments until after great trials."

At dinner, the Emperor was very good humoured and cheerful. He congratulated himself on having got through his late illness, without having recourse to medicine, without paying tri-

bute to the Doctor. At this, he said, the latter had been very much vexed. He would have been content with ever so little, with the slightest acknowledgment; he only asked for compliance with the form, like a priest in confession. The Emperor laughed, and added, that out of mere complaisance, he had made trial of a gargle, but that its strong acidity had disagreed with him.— This led him to observe that mild medicines were best suited to his constitution. “Gentle remedies, “whether physical or moral,” said he, are the only “ones that take effect on me.”

In the course of conversation, the Emperor spoke of the Empresses Josephine and Maria Louisa, of whom he related some very interesting details, and concluded with his usual observation, that the one was the model of the graces, with all their facinations; and that the other was the emblem of innocence, with all its charms.

The Emperor estimated the expenses of Malmaison to have been three or 400,000 francs; that is to say, all that he was at that time possessed of. He then calculated the amount of the sums which the Empress Josephine must have received from him: and added, that with a little order and regularity, she might, probably, have left behind her fifty or 60,000,000 of francs. “Her extravagance,” said the Emperor, “vexed me beyond measure. Calculator as I am, I would, of course, rather have “given away a million of francs, than have seen

“100,000 squandered away.” He informed us that having one day unexpectedly broken in upon Josephine’s morning circle, he found a celebrated milliner, whom he had expressly forbidden to go near the Empress, as she was ruining her by extravagant demands. “My unlooked for entrance occasioned great dismay in the academic sitting. I gave some orders unperceived to the individuals who were in attendance, and on the lady’s departure, she was seized and conducted to Bicetre. A great outcry was raised among the higher circles in Paris; it was said, that my conduct was disgraceful. It soon became the fashion to visit the milliner in her confinement, and there was daily a file of carriages at the gate of the prison. The police informed me of these facts. All the better, said I; but I hope she is not treated with severity; not confined in a dungeon?—‘No, Sire, she has a suite of apartments, and a drawing room.’ Oh, well! let her be. If this measure is pronounced to be tyrannical, so much the better; it will be a diapason stroke for a great many others. Very little will serve to shew that I can do more.” He also mentioned a celebrated man milliner, who, he remarked, was the most insolent fellow he had ever met with in the whole course of his life. “I was one day,” said the Emperor, “speaking to him respecting a *trousseau*, that he had furnished, when he had the presumption to call my conduct in question. He

“did what no man in France, except himself, would have ventured to do; he began, with great volubility, to prove to me that I did not grant a sufficient allowance to the Empress Josephine; and that it was impossible she could pay for her clothes out of such a sum. I soon put an end to his impertinent eloquence; I stopped him short with a look, and left him transfixed.”

When the Emperor had retired to his chamber; he sent for me, and after he had gone to bed, he continued to converse very cheerfully, on various subjects. He said he found himself much better, and that he felt a pleasure in chatting. However, he was very much troubled with a cough, and this had forced him to rise from table earlier than he otherwise would have done. “I unthinkingly took too much snuff,” said he, “my attention having been absorbed in the conversation of the moment. In such a case you should always take away my snuff-box: that is the way to serve those one loves.”

*War on great Roads.—Dumouriez more daring than Napoleon.—Princess Charlotte of Wales and the Prince of Saxe Cobourg.*

10th.—For some days past, the Emperor has been reading works on war, fortifications, artillery, &c. He has examined Vauban, an Account of Campaigns during the Revolution, Gassendi's Dictionary, and Cleubert's Tactics; with all of which

he is much pleased. These subjects have led him to speak of several Generals, who have already been frequently noticed in the course of this journal. "They could only carry on war on great roads," said he, "and within range of cannon, when their field of battle should have extended over a whole country."

During dinner, he spoke of the campaign of Dumouriez in Champagne, which he had just been reading. He thought little of the Duke of Brunswick, who, with a plan of offensive operations, had advanced only eighteen leagues in forty days. But, on the other hand, he very much blamed Dumouriez, whose position, he said, was far too hazardous. "For me, this is saying a great deal," added he; "for I consider myself to have been the most venturous man in war that perhaps ever lived. Yet I should certainly have been afraid to keep the position that Dumouriez retained; so numerous were the dangers it presented. I could only explain his manoeuvre, on the supposition that he could not venture to retire; he would probably have encountered greater risks in retreating, than in staying where he was. Wellington was placed in the same situation at Waterloo.

"The French are the bravest troops in the world. They will fight in whatever position they may be attacked; but they cannot retreat before a victorious enemy. If they experience

“ the least check, they lose all presence of mind  
“ and discipline ; they slip through your fingers,  
“ as it were. Dumouriez, I suppose, calculated on  
“ this ; or perhaps he might have been influenced  
“ by some secret negotiation of which we are ig-  
“ norant.”

The newspapers which we perused to-day, mentioned the marriage of Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg, to Princess Charlotte of Wales.

“ Prince Leopold,” said the Emperor, “ once  
“ had a chance of becoming my aide-de-camp.  
“ He solicited the appointment, and I don’t know  
“ what prevented his obtaining it. However, it  
“ was lucky for him that his application proved  
“ unsuccessful : had it been otherwise, his present  
“ marriage would never have taken place. Who  
“ can pretend to say what is fortunate or unfor-  
“ tunate in the events of human life ! . . .”

Princess Charlotte of Wales next became the subject of conversation. Some one observed, that she was exceedingly popular in England, and that she had given many unequivocal proofs of energy of character. The English were of opinion, that she would be another Elizabeth, and she herself seemed to cherish that idea. The individual who made these remarks, said, that he happened to be in London in 1814, at the time when the young Princess, indignant at the ill-treatment of her mother, escaped from the Prince Regent’s palace, and stepping into the first hackney coach she met with

in the street, drove to the residence of her mother, to whom she was fondly attached. On this occasion, the natural severity of the English relaxed into indulgence; and all were inclined to pardon the breach of decorum, in consideration of the amiable sentiment that had occasioned it. The young Princess would not leave her mother, until the Duke of York, or another of her uncles, and, as it was said, the Lord Chancellor, prevailed on her to go back to her father's palace, by assuring her, that to persist in the course she had adopted, would endanger her mother's happiness, perhaps even her life.

Princess Charlotte had already given a proof of decision of character, in refusing to marry the Prince of Orange. Her reason for rejecting this alliance was, that it would have obliged her occasionally to reside out of England; and this truly national sentiment contributed to render her the more dear to the English people.

The English who are at St. Helena, assure us that her union with the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, was perfectly in unison with her own wishes, and that she publicly declared she looked forward to happiness, because in her choice she had been guided purely by sentiment. She was said to be much attached to Prince Leopold.—“ I readily “ believe it,” said the Emperor: I recollect him “ very well; and when he appeared at the Tuileries, “ I thought him one of the handsomest young

“men I ever saw.” Within these few days, the English who are here have related an incident which they regard as a proof of high spirit and dignity of feeling on the part of their future Queen. Previously to her marriage, one of the Ministers waited upon her for the purpose of settling some domestic details; and having submitted to her some propositions which she did not conceive to be sufficiently liberal,—“My Lord,” said she, “I am heiress to the throne of Great Britain; and my mind has risen to a level with the exalted station I am destined to fill. Therefore, I must be provided for accordingly. Do not imagine that in marrying Prince Leopold, I ever can or will sink to the rank of *Mistress Cobourg*. Entertain no such idea, I beg of you.”

The young Princess is the idol of the English people, who look forward to her reign as affording the prospect of future happiness.

The Emperor, again alluding to Prince Leopold, and the chance he had of becoming his aide-de-camp, said:—“A crowd of German Princes solicited the same favour. When I established the Confederation of the Rhine, the sovereigns who were included in it, took it for granted that I intended to revive in my person the etiquette and forms of the Holy Roman Empire; and all, even Kings themselves, were eager to join my retinue. One wished to be appointed my cup-bearer, another my grand butler, &c. At this period,



“the Princes of Germany literally invaded the  
“Tuileries; they crowded the saloons, and modest-  
“ly mingled with the officers of my household.  
“It was the same with the Italians, Spaniards, and  
“Portuguese; in short, all the most exalted indi-  
“viduals in Europe were assembled at the Tui-  
“leries. . . . The fact is,” added the Emperor,  
“that during my reign, Paris was in itself a na-  
“tion, and the first in the world! . . .”

*Remarks of several important Subjects.—Napoleon's debut  
in Diplomacy.—Concentration of the Nations of Europe.—  
Conquest of Spain.—Danger of Russia.—Bernadotte.*

11th.—The Emperor did not leave his chamber to-day. I spent nearly the whole of the day with him; for I only left him to go to dinner.

The conversations of the day were diffuse and interesting, for the Emperor was exceedingly chatty. He discussed numerous subjects perfectly heterogeneous in their nature, though they were naturally introduced one by another. His conversation abounded with ideas and facts totally new to me. But the number and importance of the Emperor's remarks, rendered it impossible for me to seize them all. My eagerness to note down the past observation, sometimes occasioned the present one to escape me; but, for this very reason, I can with the greater confidence vouch for the accuracy of what I have preserved.

Speaking of the elements of society, the Emperor said: "Democracy may be furious; but it has some heart, it may be moved. As to aristocracy, it is always cold and unforgiving."

At another time, after some preliminary observations, he said:—"All human institutions present two opposite points of view; all have their advantages and disadvantages: for example, both republican and monarchical government may be defended and opposed. Doubtless, it is easy to prove in theory that both are equally good, and very good; but this is not quite so easy in application." He remarked, that the extreme boundary of the government of many was anarchy; and that the extreme boundary of the government of a single one was despotism; that a just medium between both was unquestionably the best, were it in the power of wisdom steadily to pursue such a course. He added, these truths had been repeated, until they had become absolutely commonplace, without producing any good result; that on this subject many volumes had been written, and many would still be written without effect.

The Emperor at another moment said: "Despotism is not absolute; but merely relative. A man cannot with impunity absorb all power within himself. If a Sultan strike off the heads of his subjects, according to the whim of the moment; he incurs the risk of losing his own by the same sort of caprice. Excess will always in-

“ cline either to one side or the other. What the sea  
“ gains by encroachment in one direction, it loses  
“ elsewhere. When I was in Egypt, a conqueror,  
“ an absolute ruler and master, dictating laws to  
“ the people by mere orders of the day, I could  
“ not have presumed to search the houses, and it  
“ would have been out of my power to have pre-  
“ vented the inhabitants from speaking freely in  
“ their coffee-houses, where liberty and indepen-  
“ dence prevailed even in a greater degree than in  
“ Paris. The people yielded like slaves in all other  
“ places; but they resolved to enjoy full liberty in  
“ their coffee-houses, which were absolutely the  
“ citadels of freedom, the bazaars of public opinion.  
“ Here they loudly declaimed and passed judgment  
“ on the measures of the day: it would have been  
“ impossible to close their mouths. If I happened  
“ to enter these places, all bowed before me, it is  
“ true; but this was a mark of esteem to me per-  
“ sonally. No such homage was shewn to any  
“ lieutenants.

“ Be this as it may,” said he, alluding to another  
topic, “ France, when subject to the opposing  
“ influences of many, was on the point of falling  
“ beneath the blows of combined Europe; but she  
“ placed the helm in the hands of one, and imme-  
“ diately, the First Consul, laid down the law to  
“ Europe. Such is the power of unity and concen-  
“ tration; these are facts which must be con-  
“ vincing to the meanest understandings.

“ It was curious to observe, that the old cabinets  
“ of Europe were unable to conceive the impor-  
“ tance of this change, and that they continued to  
“ treat with unity and concentration, in the same  
“ manner as they had done with the multitude and  
“ dispersion. It is no less remarkable, that the  
“ Emperor Paul, who was looked upon as a fool,  
“ was the first to appreciate this difference; while  
“ the English Ministers, reputed to be so skilful  
“ and experienced, were the very last. ‘ *I set aside*  
“ *the abstractions of your revolution,*’ Paul wrote to  
“ me, ‘ *I confine myself to a fact: in my eyes you*  
“ *are a government, and I address myself to you,*  
“ *because we can understand each other, and I can*  
“ *treat with you.*’

“ With regard to the English Ministry, I was  
“ ever obliged to conquer and force peace, and  
“ absolutely to detach England from the rest of  
“ Europe, before I could get them to listen to me;  
“ and even when they opened negotiations with  
“ me, they followed all the traces of the old rou-  
“ tine. They tried to divert away my attention by  
“ delays, protocols, forms, ceremonies, precedents,  
“ and I know not what. But I felt myself so  
“ powerful, that I could afford to laugh at all this!

“ A new state of things required a new line of  
“ conduct; but the English Ministers seemed to  
“ have no idea of the age, or of the men and things  
“ belonging to it. My manner quite disconcerted  
“ them. I commenced in diplomacy, as I had.

“already commenced in arms. These are my  
“propositions, said I, to the English Ministry :—we  
“are masters of Holland and Switzerland ; but I  
“am ready to resign both, in return for the resti-  
“tutions that you may make to us or our allies.  
“We are also masters of Italy, of which I will sur-  
“render up one portion and retain the other, for  
“the purpose of guaranteeing the existence of all.  
“These are my bases ; you are free to build round  
“them as much as you please ; I care not for that ;  
“but the object and result must remain as I have  
“specified. I will not yield a hair’s breadth of my  
“determination. My object is not to purchase  
“concessions from you ; but to enter into reason-  
“able, honourable, and lasting engagements. This  
“is the circle I have traced out. It appears to  
“me, that you have formed no notion of our re-  
“spective situations or resources. I fear not your  
“refusal, your efforts, nor any difficulties you may  
“throw in my way. I have a strong arm, and I  
“only want a weight to lift.”

“This unusual language,” continued the Em-  
peror, “produced the desired effect. In the ne-  
“gotiations of Amiens, they had intended merely  
“to divert us ; but they now began to treat seri-  
“ously. Not knowing at what point I was vul-  
“nerable, they offered to make me King of France.  
“This was a good idea ! King, by the grace of  
“foreigners, when I was already Sovereign by the  
“will of the people ! . . .

“ Such was the ascendancy I had acquired, that  
“ even while the negotiations were pending, I got  
“ myself elected President of the Italian Republic ;  
“ and this circumstance, which, in the ordinary  
“ course of European diplomacy, would naturally  
“ have created so many obstacles, occasioned no  
“ interruption of the proceedings. Matters were  
“ brought to a conclusion ; and I gained my point  
“ by plain dealing, better than if I had fallen into  
“ all the usual diplomatic subtleties. Many libel-  
“ lous pamphlets, and manifestoes of no better  
“ character, accused me of perfidy, and of breach  
“ of faith in my negotiations ; but I never merited  
“ these charges, which, on the contrary, might  
“ always have been justly applied to the other  
“ cabinets of Europe.

“ At Amiens, I sincerely thought the fate of  
“ France and Europe, and my own destiny, were  
“ permanently fixed ; I hoped that war was at an  
“ end. However, the English Cabinet again kindled the flame. England is alone responsible  
“ for all the miseries by which Europe has since  
“ been assailed. For my part, I intended to have  
“ devoted myself wholly to the internal interests  
“ of France ; and I am confident I should have  
“ wrought miracles. I should have lost nothing  
“ in the scale of glory ; and I should have gained  
“ much in the scale of happiness. I should then  
“ have achieved the moral conquest of Europe,  
“ which I was afterwards on the point of accom-

“plishing by force of arms. Of how much glory  
“was I thus deprived!

“My enemies always spoke of my love of war;  
“but was I not constantly engaged in self-de-  
“fence? After every victory I gained, did I not  
“immediately make proposals for peace?

“The truth is, I never was master of my own  
“actions. I never was entirely myself. I might  
“have conceived many plans; but I never had it  
“in my power to execute any. I held the helm  
“with a vigorous hand; but the fury of the waves  
“was greater than any force I could exert in re-  
“sisting them; and I prudently yielded, rather  
“than incur the risk of sinking through stubborn  
“opposition. I never was truly my own master;  
“but was always controlled by circumstances.  
“Thus, at the commencement of my rise, during  
“the Consulate, my sincere friends and warm par-  
“tisans, frequently asked me, with the best inten-  
“tions, and as a guide for their own conduct,  
“*what point I was driving at?* and I always an-  
“swered that I did not know. They were sur-  
“prised, probably dissatisfied, and yet I spoke the  
“truth. Subsequently, during the Empire, when  
“there was less familiarity, many faces seemed to  
“put the same question to me; and I might still  
“have given the same reply. In fact, I was not  
“master of my actions, because I was not fool  
“enough to attempt to twist events into con-  
“formity with my system. On the contrary, I

"moulded my system according to the unforeseen  
"succession of events. This often appeared like  
"unsteadiness and inconsistency, and of these  
"faults I was sometimes unjustly accused?"

After alluding to some other subjects, the Emperor said, "One of my great plans was the re-  
"joining, the concentration of those same geogra-  
"phical nations which have been disunited and  
"parcelled out by revolution and policy. There  
"are dispersed in Europe, upwards of 30,000,000  
"of French, 15,000,000 of Spaniards, 15,000,000  
"of Italians, and 30,000,000 of Germans; and it  
"was my intention to incorporate these people  
"each into one nation. It would have been a  
"noble thing to have advanced into posterity with  
"such a train, and attended by the blessings of  
"future ages. I felt myself worthy of this glory!

"After this summary simplification, it would  
"have been possible to indulge the chimera of the  
"beau ideal of civilization. In this state of things,  
"there would have been some chance of establish-  
"ing, in every country, a unity of codes, principles,  
"opinions, sentiments, views, and interests. Then,  
"perhaps, by the help of the universal diffusion of  
"knowledge, one might have thought of attempt-  
"ing, in the great European family, the applica-  
"tion of the American Congress, or the Amphic-  
"tyons of Greece. What a perspective of power,  
"grandeur, happiness, and prosperity, would thus  
"have appeared! . . .



“ The concentration of thirty or 40,000,000 of  
“ Frenchmen was completed and perfected ; and  
“ that of 15,000,000 of Spaniards was nearly ac-  
“ complished ; for nothing is more common than  
“ to convert accident into principle. Because I  
“ did not subdue the Spaniards, it will henceforth  
“ be argued that they were invincible. But the  
“ fact is, that they were actually conquered, and  
“ at the very moment when they escaped me, the  
“ Cortes of Cadiz were secretly in treaty with me.  
“ They were not delivered either by their own re-  
“ sistance, or the efforts of the English, but by the  
“ reverses which I sustained at distant points ; and  
“ above all, by the error I committed in transfe-  
“ ring my whole forces to the distance of a thou-  
“ sand leagues from them. Had it not been for  
“ this, the Spanish Government would shortly  
“ have been consolidated ; the public mind would  
“ have been tranquillized ; and hostile parties  
“ would have rallied together. Three or four years  
“ would have restored the Spaniards to profound  
“ peace and brilliant prosperity : they would have  
“ become a compact nation, and I should have well  
“ deserved their gratitude ; for I should have  
“ saved them from the tyranny by which they are  
“ now oppressed, and the terrible agitations that  
“ await them.

“ With regard to the 15,000,000 of Italians,  
“ their concentration was already far advanced : it  
“ only wanted maturity. The people were daily

“ becoming more firmly established in the unity  
 “ of principles and legislation ; and also in the  
 “ unity of thought and feeling, that certain and in-  
 “ fallible cement of human concentration. The  
 “ union of Piedmont to France, and the junction of  
 “ Parma, Tuscany and Rome, were, in my mind,  
 “ only temporary measures, intended merely to  
 “ guarantee and promote the national education of  
 “ the Italians.\* You may judge of the correctness

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\* So important a determination, as that of the future abandonment of Italy, thus pronounced for the first time, and in a manner so indifferent, without the development of any object, or the support of any proof, would be, I confess, entitled to no higher consideration, than the assertions that are so frequently hazarded and excused in the warmth of conversation. But time and intimacy have taught me, that every declaration made by Napoleon, under such circumstances, carried along with it its full, whole, and literal meaning. I have always found this to be the case, whenever I have had the means of verification. I make this observation, lest the reader should also be led to doubt, too hastily, without obtaining, or, at least, without seeking for proof.

I now find, for example, in vol. i. of Napoleon's Memoires, dictated to Count Montholon, so complete and satisfactory a confirmation of the remark which I collected from the Emperor's conversation at St. Helena, that I cannot refrain from transcribing it.

The passage is as follows :—

“ It was Napoleon's desire to raise up the Italian Nation, and  
 “ to re-unite the Venetians, Milanese, Piedmontese, Genoese,  
 “ Tuscans, Parmesans, Modenese, Romans, Neapolitans, Sici-  
 “ lians, and Sardinians, in one independent nation, bounded by  
 “ the Alps, and the Adriatic, Ionian, and Mediterranean seas :

“ of my views, and of the influence of common  
“ laws. The portions of Italy that were united to  
“ France, though that union might have been re-  
“ garded as the insult of invasion on our part, were,

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“ such was the immortal trophy he was raising to his glory !  
“ This great and powerful kingdom would have been, by land,  
“ a check to the House of Austria ; whilst, by sea, its fleets,  
“ combined with those of Toulon, would have ruled the Medi-  
“ terranean, and protected the old course of trade to India,  
“ by the Red Sea and Suez. Rome, the capital of this state, was  
“ the eternal city ; covered by the three barriers of the Alps, the  
“ Po, and the Apennines ; nearer than any other to the three  
“ great Islands. But Napoleon had many obstacles to surmount.  
“ He said, at the Council of Lyons, *It will take me twenty years*  
“ *to re-establish the Italian Nation.*

“ There were three impediments to this grand design ; first,  
“ the possessions of Foreign Powers in Italy ; second, the in-  
“ fluence of locality ; and, third, the residence of the Popes at  
“ Rome.

“ Scarcely ten years had elapsed, from the date of the *Consul-*  
“ *tum* of Lyons, before the first obstacle was entirely removed.  
“ Foreign Powers no longer possessed any portion of Italy ;  
“ which was entirely under the immediate influence of the Em-  
“ peror. The abrogation of the Republic of Venice, the deposi-  
“ tion of the King of Sardinia and of the Grand Duke of Tus-  
“ cany, the annexation of Saint Peter's patrimony to the Empire,  
“ had set aside the second obstacle. As founders, who have to  
“ transform several guns of small calibre, into one forty-eight  
“ pounder, first throw them all into the furnace to reduce them  
“ to a state of fusion, so the small States had been united to Aus-  
“ tria and France, that they might be reduced to an elementary  
“ state, freed of their old recollections and pretensions, and thus  
“ prepared for recasting. The Venetians having been annexed

“ in spite of their Italian patriotism, the very places  
“ that continued most attached to us. Now that  
“ they are restored to themselves, they conceive  
“ that they have been invaded and disinherited;  
“ and so they certainly have been ! . . .

“ All the South of Europe therefore, would  
“ soon have been rendered compact in point of  
“ locality, views, opinions, sentiments, and inter-  
“ ests. In this state of things, what would have  
“ been the weight of all the nations of the north?  
“ What human efforts could have broken through  
“ so strong a barrier ?

“ The concentration of the Germans must have  
“ been effected more gradually ; and therefore I  
“ had done no more than simplify their monstrous

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“ to the Austrian Monarchy, had for several years experienced  
“ the bitterness of subjection to the Germans. When these  
“ people were restored to an Italian Government, they cared  
“ little whether their city was to be the capital of Italy, or whe-  
“ ther their Government was to be more or less aristocratic. A  
“ similar change took place in Piedmont, Genoa, and Rome,  
“ which had all been disorganized by the change of the French  
“ Empire.

“ There were now no Venetians, Piedmontese, or Tuscans :  
“ the inhabitants of the whole Peninsula were only Italians. All  
“ was prepared for forming the great Italian Nation. The Grand  
“ Duchy of Berg was vacant for the dynasty which, for the  
“ time, occupied the throne of Naples. The Emperor impa-  
“ tiently awaited the birth of his second son, to crown him King  
“ of Italy ; and to proclaim the independence of the beautiful  
“ Peninsula, under the Regency of Prince Eugene.”

“ complication. Not that they were unprepared  
“ for centralization ; on the contrary, they were  
“ too well prepared for it, and they might have  
“ blindly risen in reaction against us, before they  
“ had comprehended our designs. How happens  
“ it, that no German Prince has yet formed a just  
“ notion of the spirit of his nation, and turned it to  
“ good account ? Certainly, if heaven had made  
“ me a Prince of Germany, amidst the many critical  
“ events of our times, I should, infallibly, have  
“ governed the 30,000,000 of Germans combined ;  
“ and from what I know of them, I think I may  
“ venture to affirm, that, if they had once elected  
“ and proclaimed me, they would not have forsaken  
“ me, and I should never have been at St.  
“ Helena. . . . ”

Then, after some melancholy details and comparisons, resuming the previous subject, he said,  
“ At all events, this concentration will be brought  
“ about, sooner or later, by the very force of events.  
“ The impulse is given ; and I think, that since  
“ my fall, and the destruction of my system, no  
“ grand equilibrium can possibly be established in  
“ Europe, except by the concentration and confederation  
“ of the principal nations. The sovereign,  
“ who, in the first great conflict, shall sincerely  
“ embrace the cause of the people, will find himself  
“ at the head of all Europe, and may attempt  
“ whatever he pleases.

“ It will perhaps be asked why I did not suffer

“these ideas to transpire? why I did not submit them to public discussion; since they would, doubtless, have become popular, and popularity would have been an immense reinforcement to me? My answer is, that malevolence is ever more active than good intention; that, at the present day, the power of wit overrules good sense, and obscures the clearest points at will; and that, to have submitted these important subjects to public discussion, would have been to consign them to the mercy of party spirit, passion, intrigue, and gossiping, while the infallible result would have been discredit and opposition. I conceived, therefore, that secrecy was the most advisable course. I surrounded myself with that halo of mystery, which pleases and interests the multitude; gives birth to speculations, which occupy the public mind; and, finally, affords opportunities for those sudden and brilliant disclosures, which exercise such important influence. It was this very principle that accelerated my unfortunate march to Moscow. Had I been more deliberate, I might have averted every evil; but I could not delay, and afford time for comment. With my career already traced out, with my ideas formed for the future, it was necessary that my movement and my success should seem, as it were, supernatural.” The Emperor here adverted to the Russian expedition, repeating many of the observations which I have already recorded

elsewhere. I now note down only what I conceive to be new.

“ I will name another occasion,” said he, “ on  
“ which accident was taken for principle. I failed  
“ in my expedition against the Russians ; and they,  
“ therefore, consider themselves invincible. But  
“ can any thing be more erroneous ? Ask men  
“ of sense and reflection among them ! Ask Alex-  
“ ander himself, and let him recollect the opi-  
“ nions he entertained at the time ! Was I  
“ defeated by the efforts of the Russians ? No !  
“ my failure must be attributed to pure accident,  
“ to absolute fatality. First, a capital was burnt  
“ to the ground by foreign intriguers, and in de-  
“ fiance of its inhabitants ; second, the frost set in  
“ with such unusual suddenness and severity, that  
“ it was regarded as a kind of phenomenon. To  
“ these disasters must be added a mass of false  
“ reports, silly intrigues, treachery, stupidity, and  
“ in short, many things that will perhaps one day  
“ come to light, and which will excuse or justify  
“ the two great errors I committed in diplomacy  
“ and war ; namely, to have undertaken such an  
“ enterprise, leaving on my flanks, which soon be-  
“ came my rear, two cabinets of which I was not  
“ master, and two allied armies, who, on the least  
“ check would become my enemies. But to come  
“ to a conclusion, and to annul with a word every  
“ charge that can be brought against me, I may  
“ say that this famous war, this bold enterprise,

“ were perfectly involuntary on my part. I did not wish to give battle; neither did Alexander;— but being once in presence, circumstances urged us on, and fate accomplished the rest.”

After a few moments' silence, and as if waking from a reverie, the Emperor added :—“ A Frenchman had in his hands the fate of the world! If he had possessed judgment and spirit equal to the exalted situation in which he was placed, if he had been a good Swede as he pretended he was, he might have restored the glory and power of his adopted country, have retaken Finland, and arrived at St. Petersburg before I reached Moscow. But he was swayed by personal considerations, silly vanity, and all sorts of mean passions. His head was turned, when he saw that he, an old Jacobin, was courted and flattered by legitimates; when he found himself face to face, holding political and friendly conferences with an Emperor of all the Russias, who took great pains to cajole him. It is affirmed, that hints were even thrown out to him of the possibility of his obtaining the hand of one of the sisters of the Russian Emperor, by divorcing his wife; and, in a letter addressed to him by a French Prince, the writer remarked, with complacency, that Bearn was the cradle of both their houses! *The house of B. . . . .* forsooth!

“ Dazzled by his rise of fortune, he sacrificed



“both his adopted and his mother country, his  
 “own glory, his true power, the cause of the  
 “people, and the welfare of Europe! For this he  
 “will pay dearly! No sooner had he accomplished  
 “all that was expected of him, than he began to  
 “feel what awaited him. It is said that he has  
 “repented of his conduct; but he has not yet ex-  
 “piated it. He is now the only upstart sovereign  
 “in Europe. The scandal cannot remain un-  
 “punished; it would be too dangerous an ex-  
 “ample.”

*The Emperor had but little Confidence in the Issue of 1815.—*

*Themistocles.—In the crisis of 1814, Napoleon himself momentarily entertained a thought of restoring the Bourbons.—Baron Fain's Manuscript of 1814.—The Abdication of Fontainebleau, &c.*

12th.—The Emperor adverting to his return  
 from the Island of Elba, and his second fall at  
 Waterloo, made some remarkable observations on  
 both these subjects. “It is very certain,” said he,  
 “that during the events of 1815, I relinquished  
 “the anticipation of ultimate success: I lost my  
 “first confidence. Perhaps I found, that I was  
 “wearing beyond the time of life at which fortune  
 “usually proves favourable; or, perhaps, in my  
 “own eyes, in my own imagination, the spell that  
 “had hung over my miraculous career was broken;  
 “—but, at all events, I felt that something was  
 “wanting. Kind fortune no longer followed my

“ footsteps, and took pleasure in lavishing her  
“ smiles upon me ; she was now succeeded by rigid  
“ fate, who took ample revenge for the few favours  
“ which I obtained, as it were, by force. It is a  
“ remarkable fact, that every advantage I obtained  
“ at this period, was immediately succeeded by a  
“ reverse.

“ I marched through France, and arrived in the  
“ capital amidst the enthusiasm and universal ac-  
“ clamations of the people ; but no sooner had I  
“ reached Paris, than by a sort of magic, and with-  
“ out any adequate motive, all around me re-  
“ tracted and grew cold.

“ I had adduced plausible reasons for obtaining  
“ a sincere reconciliation with Austria, whither I  
“ had despatched agents, more or less acknow-  
“ ledged.\* But Murat was there with his fatal  
“ enterprise. It was concluded at Vienna, that he

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\* Among others, Baron Stassard, in whose well known fidelity Napoleon reposed such confidence, that he sent him to the Congress of Vienna, to negotiate for the maintenance of the peace of Paris. But the Baron was unfortunately prevented from going beyond Lintz ; the most furious and inveterate individuals in the Allied Cabinets, having adopted the precaution of securing the absolute prohibition of all communication with Napoleon. It was, however, indirectly intimated to Baron Stassard, that if, before the commencement of hostilities, the Emperor chose to abdicate in favour of his son, Austria would accede to that condition, provided Napoleon would surrender himself into the hands of his father-in-law, who would again guarantee to him the sovereignty of the Isle of Elba, or any analogous dominion.

“ was acting under my orders ; and, measuring me  
“ by their own scale, they regarded my whole con-  
“ duct as a complication of artifice, and deter-  
“ mined to overreach me by counter intrigue.

“ The opening of my campaign was well managed  
“ and proved most successful. I should have sur-  
“ prised the enemy in detail ; but that a deserter  
“ from among our generals gave him timely notice  
“ of my plans.

“ I gained the brilliant victory of Ligni ; but  
“ my lieutenant robbed me of its fruits. Finally,  
“ I triumphed even at Waterloo, and was imme-  
“ diately hurled into the abyss. Yet I must con-  
“ fess that all these strokes of fate, distressed me  
“ more than they surprised me. I felt the pre-  
“ sentiment of an unfortunate result. Not that  
“ this in any way influenced my determinations  
“ and measures ; but the foreboding certainly  
“ haunted my mind.”

That such was really Napoleon's state of feeling at the period here alluded to, is evident from the following anecdote, which is so very remarkable, that I cannot forbear presenting it to the reader. When on the banks of the Sambre, the Emperor early one morning approached a bivouac fire, accompanied only by his aide-de-camp on duty (General C. . . .). Some potatoes were boiling on the fire, and the Emperor asked for one, and began to eat it. Then, with a meditative and somewhat melancholy expression, he uttered the

following broken sentences :—" After all, it is enduring . . . Man may live in any place, and in any way . . . The moment perhaps is not far remote—Themistocles ! . . . " The aide-de-camp above mentioned, who himself related this circumstance to me, since my return to Europe, observed, that had the Emperor been successful, these words would have passed away without leaving any impression on him ; but, that after the catastrophe, and particularly after reading the celebrated letter to the Prince Regent, he had been struck with the recollection of the bivouac of the Sambre ; and Napoleon's manner, tone, and expression, had since so haunted his mind, that he could never banish the circumstance from his memory.

It is a mistake to suppose that Napoleon was on all occasions inspired by that internal confidence, which his acts and decisions seemed to denote. When he quitted the Tuileries, in January 1814, to enter upon his immortal but unfortunate campaign in the environs of Paris, his mind was depressed by gloomy apprehensions :—and a circumstance that bears evidence of his penetration and foresight, is, that at the period in question, he felt convinced of what the majority of the individuals about him were far from suspecting ;—namely, that if he fell, it would be by the Bourbons. This idea he communicated to a few of his particular friends, who vainly endeavoured to rouse his confidence, by vainly representing that the

Bourbons were forgotten, that they were wholly unknown to the present generation:—"There is "the real danger," was his invariable reply. Thus, immediately after his eloquent and impressive harangue to the officers of the national guard, in which among other things he said:—"You elected "me, I am your work, and it is for you to defend "me;" and which he concluded by presenting to them the Empress and the King of Rome, saying, "I go to oppose the enemy, and I consign to your "care all that I hold most dear:"—immediately after delivering this address, when on the point of quitting the Tuileries, he foresaw at that decisive moment the treachery and perfidy that awaited him, and he resolved to secure the person of him who proved to be the main-spring of the plot, by which his overthrow was effected. He was prevented from executing his intention only by representations, and it may even be said, offers of personal responsibility, on the part of some of his Ministers, who assured him, that the individual suspected, had more reason than any one else to dread the return of the Bourbons. Napoleon yielded; at the same time emphatically expressing fears that he might have cause to regret his forbearance! . . .

The following circumstance, which is but little known, is important, since it proves how much, in the height of the crisis, Napoleon's thoughts were

directed towards the Bourbons. After the check sustained at Brienne, the evacuation of Troyes, the forced retreat on the Seine, and the degrading conditions which were transmitted from Chatillon, but which were so generously rejected, the Emperor, who was closeted with one of his friends, overpowered at sight of the miseries that were impending on France, suddenly rose from his chair, exclaiming with warmth:—"Perhaps I still possess the means of saving France. . . . What if I were myself to recal the Bourbons! The Allies would then be compelled to arrest their course, under pain of being overwhelmed with disgrace, and detected in their duplicity; under pain of being forced to acknowledge that their designs were directed against our territory, rather than against my person. I should sacrifice all to the country. I should become the mediator between the French people and the Bourbons. I should oblige the latter to accede to the national laws, and to swear fidelity to the existing compact: my glory and name would be a guarantee to the French people. As to me, I have reigned long enough. My career is filled with acts of glory; and this last will not be esteemed the least. I shall rise the higher by descending thus far. . . ." Then, after a pause of some moments, he added:—"But can a repulsed dynasty ever forgive? . . . Can it ever forget? . . . Can

“ the Bourbons be trusted? . . . May not Fox be  
“ right in his famous maxim respecting restora-  
“ tions? . . . ”

Overcome by grief and anxiety, he threw himself on his couch, and was shortly after roused to be made acquainted with the march of the flank of Blucher's corps, on which he had for some time been secretly keeping watch. He rose to put into action that new spring of resources, energy and glory, which will for ever consecrate the names of Champ-Aubert, Montmerail, Chateau-Thierry, Vaux-Champ, Nangis, Montereau, Craone, &c. These marvellous successes dismayed Alexander and the English, and suggested to them the expediency of treating: they might indeed have entirely changed the face of affairs, had not Napoleon's designs been thwarted by accidents beyond the reach of human calculation. For example, the important orders that were not communicated to the Viceroy, the defection of Murat, the indolence and negligence of certain Chiefs, and finally, even the successful movements of the French, which, by separating the Emperor of Austria from the other Allied Sovereigns, left the latter entirely free to plan the abdication of Fontainebleau, an event which will ever be celebrated in the history of our destiny and our moral character.

Philosophic thinkers, painters of the human heart, turn your eyes to Fontainebleau, and contemplate the fall of the greatest of monarchs!

Observe how the retinue by which the unfortunate hero was surrounded,—those whom he had loaded with favours, honours, and riches,—at the first frown of fortune, forsook, betrayed, and even sought to insult him! . . . Mark how the first among them in rank, favour and confidence—he whom the great Prince had vainly sought to inspire with exalted sentiment, by treating him as his companion and his friend,—mark how this man degraded himself to the level of the Mameluke, whose native manners rendered him perhaps more excusable, and who thought it perfectly natural to forsake his fallen master.

At Fontainebleau, the crisis being fulfilled, and while Napoleon was earnestly engaged, this favourite companion presented himself before him to solicit permission to proceed to Paris, only, as he said, for a short time, and for the purpose of settling some business, after which, he declared his intention of returning to the Emperor, never again to leave him. But Napoleon could read the secrets of the human mind, and the individual here alluded to, had no sooner withdrawn, than the Emperor breaking from the subject on which he was engaged, said to the person with whom he had been conversing :—“ There he goes to seal his own degradation ; and in spite of all his protestations, he “ will never come back again.” He spoke truly ; the deserter hastened to greet the first rays of the rising sun ; and no sooner had it shone upon him,



than he renounced his benefactor, his friend, and master! . . . . In speaking of the Emperor, he was even known to use the expressions: *that man!* And yet Napoleon so readily forgave human weakness, and was so superior to every feeling of rancour and resentment, that on his return from Elba, he expressed regret at not seeing the individual, who had acted so treacherous a part, adding, with a smile:—"The rogue is afraid of me, I suppose; but he has no reason to be so. The only punishment I should have inflicted on him, would have been to require him to appear before me in his new costume. They tell me he looks even uglier than usual."

And how many instances of private turpitude might not be mentioned! I myself can attest, that an individual who had been most remarkable for his base conduct on returning from Fontainebleau, appeared one of the most forward at the Tuileries, on the 20th of March. He appeared very much disconcerted at the accidental or intended solitude in which he was left by all the rest. A witness of his late misconduct, burying the recollection of past troubles in the present joy, hastened to him and relieved him from his embarrassment. Such generosity cost little at that moment:

Aux cœurs heureux les vertus sont faciles.

I refer to the Manuscript of 1814, for a picture

of these mortifying events.\* The reader may there learn . . . . . But no, he will learn nothing new . . . . . In all circumstances, at all times, and in all countries, men, and particularly courtiers, are ever the same; and it must be recollected that by this time, Napoleon's camp had become a court.—Let not these men say, that their conduct was dictated by regard for the welfare and interest of their country. The thought of securing

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\* Baron Fain, first cabinet secretary to Napoleon, has just published a volume entitled, *The Manuscript of 1814*. This work presents an animated and interesting detail, of the important but imperfectly known events of the period, and in particular of the short but immortal campaign of 1814. It is an episode of miracles, in which Napoleon throughout appears supernatural in the resources of genius, the energy of mind, the celerity of motion, the steadiness of views, and the sublimity of courage which he there evinced. Nothing can be compared with the prodigies he performed, except indeed, the indefatigable ardour of a handful of brave men, who, as if strangers to the wants of nature, when deprived of food and rest, seemed to multiply before the enemy's legions, were incessantly engaged and always victorious.

Baron Fain has presented to us a record of national glory, and he is justly entitled to the gratitude of his countrymen. In his picture of war, confusion and trouble, the characteristic traits of the mind and heart of Napoleon, frequently shine forth with lustre. To me, who have especially devoted my attention to these latter objects, it is peculiarly gratifying, while at the same time, it must be curious to all readers to trace the correspondence between details recorded by two men, total strangers to each other, and alluding to periods and circumstances wholly distinct.

the undisturbed enjoyment of the wealth and honours they had acquired, in their minds superseded every patriotic consideration. But history will be just. I say history, for the bulk of the present generation cannot even claim this sad honour. Where was our indignation? Where was our reprobation authentically and solemnly pronounced? . . . . And let it be understood, that this is a point wholly unconnected with political considerations. The question is not what cause these men supported; but merely, what moral principle they professed. But it must not be supposed that discontented misanthropy would lead me to draw a picture discouraging to all hearts, and to conclude, by the proscription of all mankind. By no means:—I am well aware that the moment of great trials is that of great extremities; and that amidst the basest passions, the most brilliant heroism and noble virtue shine conspicuous. Therefore, honoured be those veteran bands, whose bitter tears attested their sincere sorrow! Honoured be those innumerable subaltern officers, to whom a word would have been the signal for shedding every drop of their blood! Honoured be the generous peasantry, who presented to our troops their last morsel of bread; and disregarding their own privations, parted with all to aid the brave defenders of their country! Honoured be those generous sentiments, that were expressed by the citizens of every class, sex, and age! If, on the

one side, the heart is roused to indignation, it finds a delicious source of gratification on the other! . . .

At St. Helena, the Emperor dictated an account of the events of Fontainebleau, and his removal to the Island of Elba ; but my memory does not enable me to quote any of the facts thus detailed. I took no notes of them, because, with a view of abridging my own labour, I laid down the rule of passing over those subjects that were dictated to others, being assured that they would be faithfully recorded. Besides, the narrative to which I have just alluded, is destined for publication. I shall, therefore, merely subjoin a few particulars which, I presume, are not included in it, and which are collected from Napoleon's conversations, or other authentic sources.

When the disasters of 1814 were apparent, when the danger was imminent, particularly after the entrance of the Allies into Paris, many of the French Generals began to waver. Those, in whom selfishness prevailed over patriotism ; those, who preferred to retire from the fatigues of war, rather than to obey the dictates of duty, honour and glory, urged on the catastrophe, instead of seeking to avert it. The most distinguished Chiefs ventured to advise the abdication, and declared it to be indispensable. Some even went so far as to hint to the Emperor, that they could not answer for the consequences of the dissatisfaction and indignation which the soldiers manifested towards

him ; while, on the contrary, as Napoleon himself said, " Such was the attachment of the troops, " and the devotedness of the officers, that if I had " made known the machinations that were plotting, I certainly should have endangered those " who were guilty of such misrepresentation. A " single word from me would have sacrificed " them." Napoleon reviewed the troops : their acclamations were enthusiastic and general. It appeared as though adversity served only to render the Emperor the more dear to them, for their attachment was never so decidedly expressed. " It was impossible it could be otherwise," said Napoleon, " such was the identity of these brave " men with me, and such our mutual sympathy, I " never entertained a doubt of their attachment."

In this extremity, Napoleon profoundly reflected on what course it was advisable for him to pursue. He yet possessed forty or 50,000 troops, the best and most devoted in the world ; he might without risk, have overawed or dismissed the faithless Generals. In this state of things, three different measures, by turns, presented themselves to his mind.

The first was to return upon Paris ; for he imagined that no General on earth would be bold enough to give him battle with that immense capital in his rear. " At my command," said the Emperor, " the whole population would have risen. I " should suddenly have found my forces recruited,

“ by the addition of one or 200,000 men. But the  
“ Allies, on retiring, might have burnt the capital ;  
“ and this disaster would have been accounted  
“ my work. It is true, the burning of Paris might  
“ have proved in reality the salvation of France, as  
“ the burning of Moscow was the salvation of Rus-  
“ sia ; but such sacrifices can only be made by  
“ the parties interested.”

The second idea which suggested itself to the Emperor's mind, was to proceed to Italy, to form a junction with the Viceroy. “ But this,” said Napoleon, “ would have been a desperate course, “ without the chance of obtaining an adequate re-  
“ sult. It would have removed the theatre of con-  
“ flict to too remote a point. Public enthusiasm  
“ would have had time to subside ; and we should  
“ no longer have been fighting in France, on whose  
“ sacred soil alone we could hope to work the pro-  
“ digies that had become indispensable.”

Neither of these two measures would have been practicable. Only the third course, therefore, remained, and this was, to continue on the defensive, to dispute every foot of ground, and to maintain the war until new chances should arise. The stupor, which the presence of the invaders had produced, would soon be dispelled ; the miseries they created, would soon render them the objects of execration ; the national enthusiasm would revive ; and the Allies would find their graves in the land which they had presumed to violate. But this

must necessarily have been the work of time ; in a word, success was doubtful, or, at least, remote ; while the sufferings of the people were certain, immediate, and incalculable. The noble mind of Napoleon was moved ; and he resolved to abdicate.

Meanwhile, he despatched to the Emperor Alexander a deputation of Marshals, among whom was the Duke of Ragusa, one of those to whom he was most fondly attached. The Deputation was instructed to propose the abdication of Napoleon, in favour of his son. The Emperor thus hoped to save France, to secure her independence, and the duration of her existing institutions. The Emperor Alexander, who had several days before publicly declared, that he would not treat either with Napoleon or any of the members of his family, nevertheless discussed the subject contradictorily with that party of the Senate, who proposed the abdication. The Marshals spoke vehemently, and in the name of the whole army. Alexander's determination was shaken, and the party favourable to the Regency, seemed likely to prevail, when intelligence arrived of the defection of the Duke of Ragusa ; and this circumstance confirmed Alexander in his previous resolution. The event came upon him like a ray of light: the army, then, is not unanimous, thought he ! From that moment, setting aside all reserve, he declared himself to be inflexible. In this state of things, Napoleon was

surrounded, urged and harassed to sign his positive and unconditional abdication. He yielded, after a great internal struggle, and dictated the act of abdication, in the following terms :—

“ The Allied Powers having proclaimed that the  
“ Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the  
“ re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the  
“ Emperor, faithful to his oath, renounces for him-  
“ self and his heirs, the thrones of France and  
“ Italy, and declares, that there is no sacrifice,  
“ even that of life, which he is not ready to make  
“ for the interests of France.”

This declaration, which the Allies were far from expecting in so absolute a form, smoothed away every difficulty, and the Marshals returned with what is called the treaty of Fontainebleau, which I shall presently insert.

I find in Baron Fain's *Manuscript of 1814*, a complete explanation of certain remarks made by the Emperor, which I noted down at the time, without exactly comprehending their meaning. In the fifth part of this Journal, the Emperor, alluding to the treaty of Fontainebleau, says, “ I will  
“ have nothing to do with that treaty ; I disclaim  
“ it. Far from being proud of it, I blush for it. It  
“ was discussed for me, and against my will,” &c. And, on another occasion, he says, “ When the  
“ history of the events of Fontainebleau comes to  
“ be known, it will afford ample room for surprise.” The Manuscript of 1814, proves that Napoleon



had, indeed, nothing to do with the treaty of Fontainebleau. The utmost exertions were employed to prevail on him to sign the treaty; and he was, at length, only influenced by the public considerations that were adduced in support of it. He thought it both degrading and useless to sign the treaty. Having survived his greatness, he wished henceforth to live as a private individual; and he was mortified to reflect that the vast sacrifice that had been made, for the peace of the world, should be mingled with pecuniary arrangements. "Of what use is a treaty," said he, "since they will not settle the interests of France with me? If only my personal interests are concerned, there is no need of a treaty. I am conquered; I yield to the fate of arms. All I ask is, that I may not be accounted a prisoner of war; and for that a mere cartel is sufficient!"

Every endeavour to turn his thoughts to his personal situation, his existence, and future wants, proved unavailing. To all such suggestions, he energetically replied, "What matters it? A horse, and a crown a day, are all that I want."

I, for my part, can bear witness, that the Emperor infinitely regretted having ratified the treaty of Fontainebleau; and this was not the only decision, of the period, which weighed heavily on his mind. He also very much regretted having yielded, when in his position at St. Dizier and Doulevant, to the various representations and suggestions,

by which he was assailed, and which induced him, against his inclination, to make a counter-march upon Paris. "Here I wanted firmness," said he; "I should have followed up my intention of advancing to the Rhine, collecting reinforcements from all the garrisons on my way, and exciting the rise of the peasantry. By this means, I should soon have possessed an immense army. Murat would immediately have rejoined me; and he and the Viceroy would have made me master of Vienna, if the Allies had presumed to deprive me of Paris. But no; the enemy would have shrunk from the dangers with which he would have been surrounded. The allied Sovereigns would have regarded it as a favour to have been permitted to retire. The storm that assailed us would have subsided. Peace would have been concluded, and sincerely maintained; for all were exhausted; all had wounds to heal! . . . . Abroad, war could no longer have been thought of; and at home, such a result must have had the effect of destroying all illusion, frustrating every evil design, and permanently blending the opinions, views, and interests of all parties. I should once more have seated myself triumphantly on the throne, surrounded by my invincible bands. The heroic and faithful portion of the people, would have regulated those who had wavered; and the men who had shewn themselves so eager for repose,

“ might have enjoyed it. A new generation of  
“ chiefs would have remoulded our character.  
“ Every effort would have been directed to the in-  
“ ternal welfare of the country ; and France would  
“ have been happy !”

When speaking of the confusion created in Paris, by the approach of the Allies ; the dejection, to use no stronger a term, that was evinced by the upper classes ; the good spirit and enthusiasm manifested by the great body of the people, who were ready to fight, if they could have procured arms,—I observed that the departure of the Empress had produced a fatal effect on the public mind. I mentioned, as a singular circumstance, that the young King of Rome, contrary to custom, obstinately refused to quit the palace : he wept bitterly, and it was found necessary to carry him away by force. I also added that it was universally reported that the Empress wished to remain, and that the Council was inclined to second her wishes, until precise orders were received from the Emperor, directing her to quit Paris, in case of urgent danger on the part of the enemy. “ Yes,” said the Emperor, “ and those orders were very necessary. The Empress was young, and totally inexperienced. “ Had she been capable of personal decision, my “ directions would have been quite the contrary. “ Paris then would have been her proper post. “ But I foresaw the intrigues of which she would “ be the object ; and I wished to prevent at Paris,

“ what subsequently occurred at Orleans. There, the men who were planning the Regency, in the expectation of ruling under the Empress, prevented her from joining me. What fatal consequences were thus produced ! Would to heaven that I had also despatched timely orders, directing her to quit Orleans ! ”

It is certain that at Fontainebleau, Napoleon was, almost at one and the same moment, the victim of every kind of mental distress, with which man can possibly be assailed. Subdued by defection, and not by force of arms, he felt all that could rouse the indignation of a lofty mind, or break an affectionate heart. His friends forsook him ; his servants betrayed him ; one surrendered up his army ; another his treasury. The men whom he had reared, maintained, and loaded with favours, were those who wrought his overthrow. The members of the Senate, who, only the day before, had supplied him profusely with conscripts to oppose the enemy, scrupled not to become the instruments of that very enemy. Under the impulse of foreign bayonets, they imputed to him as a crime that which was their own work ; and basely broke the idol which they had themselves created, and so servilely worshipped. What a depth of disgrace and degradation ! . . . . Finally (and this stroke Napoleon felt more severely than all the rest), his wife and child were carried away from him ; and in defiance of treaties and laws, in oppo-

sation to all moral principle, he was never allowed to see them more! . . .

It appears that Napoleon, oppressed by this weight of affliction, surrounded by this odious turpitude, in his utter contempt of human nature, and all things connected with this world, formed the resolution of ridding himself of life. A letter has been preserved, written in his own hand to the Empress, in which he says that the moment has arrived when she must prepare her mind for every thing; that all is possible, *even the death of the Emperor*. This was, doubtless, an allusion to the mysterious event of the night of the 12th of April, which was wrapt in profound secrecy. The Manuscript of 1814, however, contains some particulars relative to this occurrence, which, if they be correct, will not leave the furious enemies of Napoleon even the satisfaction of repeating the stupid and vulgar remark, *that he had not courage to die*; . . for according to the Manuscript, it appears, on the contrary, that *he could not die*! This is not the least extraordinary event in Napoleon's career. His remark, *Heaven has ordained that I shall live*! and the calm and noble resignation, which from that moment succeeded, appear truly sublime.

Napoleon's celebrated farewell address to his troops, and his last embrace of those eagles which he had immortalized, are well known. A Prussian diplomatist, who was present, has assured me that the scene produced an impression on him that

time can never obliterate. He added, that the English Commissioner, who stood near him, and who had previously been an inveterate enemy of Napoleon, was so deeply moved, that he shed tears.

Such were the sentiments of respect and veneration naturally inspired by Napoleon, that in spite of the danger and inconvenience occasioned by his presence in France, no one presumed to hasten his departure; and he was allowed full time to make all the arrangements he wished.

The treaty of abdication is dated the 11th of April, and Napoleon did not quit Fontainebleau until the 20th, nine days after. Throughout the first part of his journey, he was the object of universal respect, and often of the warmest and most affectionate interest.\*

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\* The Emperor departed from Fontainebleau on the 20th of April, 1814, escorted by a party of horse grenadiers. Count Bertrand was with him in the carriage.

On the evening of the 20th, he reached Briarre.

On the 21st, he arrived at Nevers.

On the 22d, at Rouanne.

On the 23d, at Lyons.

On the 24th, at Montelimart.

On the 25th, at Orgon.

On the 26th, he slept near Luc.

On the 27th, at Frejus.

On the 28th, at eight in the evening, he embarked on board the English frigate, *The Undaunted*, commanded by Captain Usher.

Hitherto, foreigners seemed to have formed no idea of the spirit that prevailed in France, or of the real feelings of the people, with regard to the Emperor. However, it was deemed prudent to arrange matters, so that Napoleon should reach Lyons in the night ; or, I rather believe, it was intended to prevent his reaching that city at all. I received the following particulars from an English gentleman, one of those who had been long detained in France, and who happened, at the period in question, to be residing at Lyons. My informant, and the Austrian General, went out in disguise, and mingled with the crowd that had assembled to see the dethroned Monarch pass by. They expected to be much amused with the imprecations of which, they concluded, he would be the object. But, as soon as the Emperor appeared, deep silence prevailed among the multitude ; and an old woman, to all appearance above the common class, habited in deep mourning, and with a countenance full of enthusiasm, rushed forward to the door of the Emperor's carriage. " Sire," said she, with an air of solemnity, " may the blessing of heaven attend you. Endeavour to make yourself happy. They tear you from us ; but our hearts are with you wheresoever you go." The Austrian General, quite disconcerted, said to his companion, " Let us begone ; I have no patience with this old mad woman. The people have not common sense."

A little beyond Lyons, the General in Chief, of the army of the East, appeared on the road ; and Napoleon, alighting from his carriage, walked with him for a considerable way. When the General had taken his leave, one of the allied Commissioners ventured to express his surprise that the Emperor should have treated him with such an appearance of friendship and confidence. "Why should I not ?" inquired Napoleon.—"Your Majesty is, perhaps, not aware of his conduct?"—"What has he done?"—"Sire, he entered into an understanding with us several weeks ago."—"It was even so," said the Emperor, "he whom I had intrusted with the defence of France on this point, sacrificed and betrayed the country." After many complaints of the perfidy of men in whom he had reposed confidence, he concluded by saying ;—"The Marshal was no longer the soldier.—His early courage and virtues had raised him above the multitude ; but honours, dignities, and fortune, again reduced him to the common level. The conqueror of Castiglione might have left behind him a name dear to his country. But France will execrate the memory of the traitor of Lyons, and all who acted as he did, unless, indeed, their future services shall make amends for their past wrongs."

This circumstance dictated the famous proclamation which the Emperor issued on his return. "Frenchmen," said he, "the defection of the



“ Duke of Castiglione, left Lyons defenceless and  
“ at the mercy of the enemy. The army, of which  
“ I had intrusted that Chief with the command,  
“ was, from the number of its battalions, and the  
“ courage and patriotism of its troops, capable of  
“ defeating the corps of the Austrian army op-  
“ posed to it, and advancing on the rear of the left  
“ flank of the enemy’s force that threatened Paris.  
“ The victories of Champ-Aubert, Montmirail,  
“ Chateau-Thierry, Vaux-Champ, Mormans, Mon-  
“ tereau, Craone, Rheims, Arcis-sur-Aube, and  
“ St. Dizier; the rising of the brave peasantry  
“ of Lorraine, Champagne, Alsace, the Franche-  
“ Comté, and Burgundy; the position which I had  
“ taken up in the rear of the enemy, intercepting  
“ his magazines, parks of reserve, convoys, and  
“ equipages,—all had thrown the invading forces  
“ into a desperate situation. The French people  
“ never had the prospect of becoming more power-  
“ ful. The enemy’s picked corps would have been  
“ irretrievably lost, and would have found their  
“ graves in those plains which they so mercilessly  
“ ravaged, when the treason of the Duke of Ragusa  
“ delivered up the capital, and disorganized the  
“ army. The unlooked-for conduct of these two  
“ generals, who at once betrayed their country,  
“ their prince, and their benefactor, changed the  
“ fate of the war. Such was the disastrous situa-  
“ tion of the enemy, after the affair which took  
“ place before Paris, that he was absolutely destitute

“ of ammunition, by being separated from his  
“ parks of reserve,”\* &c.

Napoleon was less favourably received in proportion as he advanced to Provence ; for there the machinations of his enemies had anticipated his arrival. He had escaped the ambush of Maubreuil, but he could not avoid that of Orgon ; and this part of his dictated narrative is not the least curious.

On his arrival at the place of embarkation, he found two vessels in readiness to receive him ; the one French, and the other English. Napoleon went on board the English frigate, observing, that he would never allow it to be said that a Frenchman had conveyed him away.

Such is a brief account of the great event, the details of which, dictated by Napoleon himself, will, as I have already mentioned, hereafter be presented to the public. France has been inundated with pamphlets on the subject, so full of falsehood and absurdity, that every honest and sensible man now blushes for having given credit to them, or having had even the courage to read them.

The following is the treaty of Fontainebleau, to which I have already alluded. It was carefully suppressed at the time it was drawn up, was

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\* A friend of mine, travelling in Germany, assures us that he received from the commander of the Russian parks, several years after the event, a confirmation of the accuracy of the assertion contained in the above proclamation.

never published in the *Moniteur*, and remained long unknown. It is to be found only in official collections, and even there the copies differ one from another. I presume, therefore, that its insertion here will not be deemed superfluous. It is intimately connected with the subject of which I have just been treating, and many of its articles are still the topics of daily conversation; and it must of course be satisfactory to be enabled to discuss with a full knowledge of facts.

#### TREATY OF FONTAINEBLEAU.

“Article I.—His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors and descendants, as well as for all the members of his family, all right of sovereignty and dominion over the French Empire, and the kingdom of Italy, as well as over every other country.

“II.—Their Majesties the Emperor Napoleon and Empress Maria Louisa, shall retain their titles and rank, to be enjoyed during their lives.

“The mother, brothers, sisters, nephews and nieces of the Emperor, shall also retain, wherever they may reside, the titles of Princes of the Emperor's family.

“III.—The Isle of Elba, adopted by his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon as his place of residence, shall form, during his life, a separate principality, which shall be possessed by him in full sovereignty and property.

“ There shall be besides granted, in full property to the Emperor Napoleon, an annual revenue of 2,000,000 francs in rent charge in the great book of France, of which 1,000,000 shall be in reversion to the Empress.

“ IV.—All the Powers promise to employ their good offices in causing to be respected by the Barbary Powers, the flag and territory of the Isle of Elba; for which purpose, the relations with the Barbary Powers, shall be assimilated to those of France.

“ V.—The Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, shall be granted in full property and sovereignty to her Majesty the Empress Maria Louisa. They shall pass to the Prince her son, and to his descendants in the right line. The Prince shall, henceforth, take the title of Prince of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla.

“ VI.—There shall be reserved in the territories renounced by this treaty, to his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, for himself and his family, domains, rent charges, in the great book of France, producing an annual revenue, clear of all deductions and charges, of 2,500,000 francs. These domains, or rents, shall belong, in full property, to be disposed of as they think fit, to the Princes and Princesses of the Emperor's family, and shall be divided amongst them in such manner, that the revenues of each shall be in the following proportion, viz :—

	<i>Francs.</i>
To Madame Mère . . . . .	300,000
To King Joseph and his Queen . . . . .	500,000
To King Louis . . . . .	200,000
To the Queen Hortense and her children . . . . .	400,000
To King Jerome and his Queen . . . . .	500,000
To the Princess Eliza . . . . .	300,000
To the Princess Paulina . . . . .	300,000

“ The Princes and Princesses of the family of the Emperor Napoleon, shall moreover retain all the property, moveable and immoveable, of every kind whatever, which they may possess by private right ; together with the rents which they hold also, as private individuals, in the great book of France, or the Monte-Napoleone of Milan.

“ VII.—The annual pension of the Empress Josephine shall be reduced to 1,000,000 in domains, or inscriptions in the great book of France. She shall continue to enjoy, in full property, all her private fortune, moveable and immoveable, with power to dispose of it conformably to the French Laws.

“ VIII.—There shall be granted to Prince Eugene, Viceroy of Italy, a suitable establishment out of France.

“ IX.—The property which the Emperor Napoleon possesses in France, either as extraordinary domain, or private domain, will remain attached to the crown.

“ Of the funds vested by the Emperor in the great book of France, in the French bank, in the *Actions*

*des Forêts*, or in any other manner, and which his Majesty resigns to the crown; there shall be reserved a capital, not exceeding 2,000,000 of francs, to be expended in gratuities, in favour of the individuals whose names shall be contained in a list signed by the Emperor Napoleon, and which shall be transmitted to the French Government.

“ X.—All the crown diamonds shall remain in France.

“ XI.—His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, shall return to the treasury, and to the other public funds, all the sums and effects, that may have been taken therefrom by his orders, with the exception of what has been appropriated from the civil list.

“ XII.—The debts of the household of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, such as they may be at the time of the signature of the present treaty, shall be immediately discharged out of the arrears due by the public treasury to the civil list, according to a list which shall be signed by a Commissioner appointed for that purpose.

“ XIII.—The obligations of the Monte-Napoleone, of Milan, towards all creditors, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, shall be punctually fulfilled, without any change being made in this respect.

“ XIV.—There shall be granted all the necessary passports for the free passage of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, the Empress, the Princes

and Princesses, and all the persons of their suites, who wish to accompany them, or fix their abode in foreign countries, as well as for the passage of all the equipages, horses, and effects, belonging to them.

“ The Allied Powers will, in consequence, furnish officers and men for escorts.

“ XV.—The French Imperial Guard, shall furnish a detachment of from 1200 to 1500 men, of all arms, to serve as an escort to the Emperor to St. Tropez, the place of his embarkation.

“ XVI.—A brig and the necessary transport vessels, shall be fitted out to convey to the place of his destination, his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon and his household. The brig shall belong, in full property, to his Majesty the Emperor.

“ XVII.—The Emperor shall be allowed to take with him, and retain, as his guard, 400 men, volunteers and officers, as well as sub-officers and soldiers.

“ XVIII.—Every Frenchman who may follow the Emperor Napoleon, or his family, shall be held to have forfeited his rights as a Frenchman, should he not return to France within three years; at least, if he be not included in the exceptions which the French Government reserves to itself to grant, after the expiration of that period.

“ XIX.—The Polish troops of all arms, in the service of France, shall be at liberty to return home, and shall retain their arms and baggage, as

a testimony of their honourable services. The officers, sub-officers, and soldiers, shall retain the decorations which have been granted to them, and the pensions annexed to these decorations.

“XX.—The Allied Powers guarantee the execution of the articles of the present treaty, and promise to obtain its adoption and guarantee by France.

“XXI.—The present act shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Paris within ten days, or sooner, if possible.

“Done at Paris, April 11, 1814.

(Signed) CAULINCOURT, Duke of Vicenza;  
Marshal MACDONALD, Duke of Tarento;  
Marshal NEY, Duke of Elchingen;\*  
Prince METTERNICH.”

The same articles were signed separately and under the same date, by Count Nesselrode on behalf of Russia, and Baron Hardenberg, on behalf of Prussia.

#### DECLARATION OF ACCESSION IN THE NAME OF LOUIS XVIII.

“The undersigned, Minister and Secretary of State for the department of Foreign Affairs, having submitted to the King the inquiry which their excellencies the plenipotentiaries of the Allied Powers

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\* It is worthy of remark, that Marshal Ney does not here take the title of Prince of the Moskowa, from delicacy to the Emperor Alexander.



have been ordered by their sovereigns to make, relative to the treaty of the 11th of April, to which the Provisional Government has acceded ; his Majesty has been pleased to authorize him in his name, to declare, that the clauses of the treaty, in so far as France is concerned, shall be faithfully executed. The undersigned has consequently the honour to communicate this declaration to their excellencies.

(Signed)

“ The Prince of BENEVENTO.

“ *Paris, May 31, 1814.*”

The great European triumvirate drew up the treaty of Fontainebleau, England acceded to it, a declaration made in the name of the King of France, promised it fulfilment in so far as he was concerned ; and yet, in spite of all these guarantees, it may be said that scarcely any of the articles were observed. Certainly, it would be difficult to conceive a more flagrant violation of good faith or a more absolute compromise of the august signatures, which, it was to be expected, each party would have been individually interested in preserving unsullied and sacred. On these manifest violations, was grounded the moral justification of Napoleon's enterprise in 1815. This opinion was pretty generally adopted : it was advocated by the most distinguished members of the English Parliament, those indefatigable supporters of great principles, and by eminent statesmen of all countries. I may add to these high authorities, an individual

opinion, which though somewhat comically expressed, was not perhaps the less just. An Austrian gentleman of rank, who was in Paris in 1815, and who was a furious enemy of Napoleon, called on me just at the time when the Emperor's advance to the capital began to produce a great sensation. The Austrian had already determined to set off, and he said to me with all possible gravity and sincerity: "Certainly, he hitherto occupied the throne of France as an usurper: that's unquestionable! But," added he, quibbling with himself diplomatically, "if he should now conquer France, after all the monarchs of Europe have acknowledged him as a sovereign, and have entitled him to go to war by not observing the conditions they entered into, the case would be very different. And, upon my word! . . . . for my own part at least . . . . I think in that case . . . there might be some ground for maintaining that he has become legitimate. At least, I think I should myself be inclined to consider him so."

*Letter from Lord Castlereagh to Lord Bathurst, relative to the Treaty of Fontainebleau. (Paris, April 15, 1814.)*

" . . . . . I shall, therefore, on the present occasion, confine myself to an explanation of what has passed with respect to the future destination and settlement of Napoleon and his family.

" Your Lordship has been already informed, by Lord Cathcart, of the Act of Abdication which

was passed by Buonaparte, on the 4th instant, and of the assurance which was given him by the Emperor of Russia, and the Provisional Government, of a pecuniary provision of six millions of francs, with a safe asylum in the Island of Elba. The act in question, was deposited in the hands of M. de Caulincourt, and Marshals Ney and Macdonald, to be given up upon the due execution of engagements on the part of the Allies, with respect to the proposed arrangement. These persons were also authorized to agree to an armistice, and to settle such a line of demarcation, as might be satisfactory to the Allies, and, in the mean time, prevent an unnecessary effusion of blood.

“ On my arrival, I found this arrangement on the point of execution. A convention had been discussed, and would have, in fact, been signed in the course of the day by the Russian Minister, had not the approach of the Allied Ministers been announced. The motives for accelerating the immediate conclusion of this act, were the inconvenience, if not the danger of Napoleon's remaining at Fontainebleau, surrounded by troops, who still, in a considerable degree, remained faithful to him; the apprehension of intrigues in the army and in the capital; and the importance attached, by a considerable portion of the officers, to some arrangement favourable to their chief, in satisfaction of their personal honour, before they left him.

“ On the night of my arrival, the four Ministers

had a conference with the Prince de Benevento, on the subject of the proposed convention, to which I stated my objections, desiring, at the same time, to be understood as not urging them then, at the hazard of the internal tranquillity of France, nor in impeachment of what was due, in good faith, to the assurance given, under the exigency of the moment, by Russia.

“ The Prince de Benevento admitted the weight of many of the objections stated, but declared that he did consider it, on the part of the Provisional Government, as an object of the first importance, to avoid any thing that might assume the character of a civil war, even for the shortest time :—that he also found some such measure necessary, to make the army pass over in a temper to be made use of. Upon these declarations, and the Count de Nesselrode’s, that the Emperor, his master, had found it necessary, in the absence of the Allies, to act for the best, in their name as well as his own ; I withdrew any further opposition to the principle of the measure, suggesting only some alterations in the details. I desired, however, to decline, on the part of my Government, being more than an acceding party to the treaty, and declared that the Act of Accession on the part of Great Britain, should not go beyond the territorial arrangements proposed in the Treaty. My objections to our unnecessarily mixing in its forms, especially in the recognition of Napoleon’s title under present circumstances, were considered

as perfectly reasonable; and I now enclose the protocol and note, which will explain the extent to which I have taken it upon me to give assurances on the part of my Court.

“ At my suggestion, the recognition of the imperial titles in the family, were limited to their respective lives, for which there was a precedent in the case of the King of Poland, when he became Elector of Saxony.

“ To the arrangement in favour of the Empress, I not only felt no objection, but considered it due to the distinguished sacrifice of domestic feelings, which the Emperor of Austria was making to the cause of Europe. *I should have wished to substitute another position, in lieu of Elba, for the seat of Napoleon's retirement*; but none, having the quality of security on which he insisted, seemed disposable, to which equal objections did not occur; and I did not feel that I could encourage the alternative which M. de Caulincourt assured me Buonaparte repeatedly mentioned, namely, an asylum in England.

“ On the same night, the Allied Ministers had a conference with M. de Caulincourt, and the Marshals, at which I assisted. The treaty was gone through, and agreed to with alterations; it has been since signed and ratified, and Buonaparte will commence his movement towards the south tomorrow, or the day following.

(Signed)

“CASTLEREAGH.”

I thought it advisable to transcribe this letter ; it throws a complete light on the treaty of the 11th of April, of the particulars of which I was ignorant, even when at St. Helena ; and it presents two points to which I particularly wish to call attention. It explains the observation which fell from the Emperor, when I observed to him, that on an important occasion he seemed to have forgotten the acknowledgment of his title by the English at Fontainebleau ; when he merely replied that it was done on purpose. (Part V.) Now, I learn from the letter above quoted, that Lord Castlereagh studiously avoided the recognition ; but this is no impeachment of the scrupulous correctness of Napoleon's assertions.

The second point, which impartiality induces me to advert to is, that Lord Castlereagh, in his letter, speaks of the alternative offered by Napoleon, to retire to England in default of the cession of the Isle of Elba. At a few pages further on (Nov. 16), it will be found that Napoleon, on the contrary, reproaches Lord Castlereagh with having caused it to be insinuated to him, that the adoption of England, as a place of residence, would be the preferable course. These two statements are certainly quite contradictory ; but regard for impartiality, as I before observed, has induced me to insert them. The reader is, therefore, free to decide as he may think fit ; for, as I have often heard the Emperor say, one man's word is as good

as another's. For my own part, my choice is soon determined: I adopt the words of Napoleon, in spite of the assertions of Lord Castlereagh. I still bear in mind the erroneous declarations of Lord Whitworth, which have been mentioned in the course of this Journal; the scandalous assertions respecting Napoleon, made by Lord Castlereagh in Parliament, or in public assemblies; the garbled documents, on the authority of which Murat's deposition was decreed; and the numerous denials so confidently expressed by Lord Bathurst in the House of Lords, the falsehood of which was manifest to every individual at St. Helena, and occasioned embarrassment even to Sir Hudson Lowe. I shall, therefore, adhere to the opinion I have formed, until I find good reason to alter it.

*The Sword of Frederick the Great.—On Napoleon's Marriage it was hoped that the Lion would slumber.—Tormenting Conduct of the Governor.—Our Lot enviable, even amidst our Misery.*

13th.—This morning, when I was in the Emperor's apartment, being unemployed, I took a fancy to examine Frederick the Great's large watch, which hangs beside the chimney piece. This led the Emperor to say, "I have been the " possessor of glorious and valuable relics. I had " the sword of Frederick the Great; and the Sp- " niards presented to me at the Tuileries, the sword

“ of Francis I. This was a high compliment, and  
“ it must have cost them some sacrifice. The  
“ Turks and Persians have also sent me arms,  
“ which were said to have belonged to Gengiskan,  
“ Tamerlane, Scha-Nadir, and I know not whom ;  
“ but I attached importance not to the fact, but to  
“ the intention.”

I expressed my astonishment that he had not endeavoured to keep Frederick's sword. “ Why, “ I had my own,” said he, smiling, and gently pinching my ear. He was right : I certainly made a very stupid observation.

Afterwards, alluding to his second marriage, he said, that he had intended to make choice of a Frenchwoman, and it would have been well if he had done so. “ Such an union would have been “ eminently national,” he observed. “ France was “ sufficiently great, and her Monarch sufficiently “ powerful, to set aside every consideration of “ foreign policy. Besides, among Sovereigns, the “ ties of blood are always made to yield to political interests; hence what scandalous violations “ of moral feeling are frequently exhibited to the “ world. Another objection that may be urged “ against marriages of this kind is, the admission “ of a foreign Princess into state secrets, which “ she may be tempted to betray; and if a sovereign place trust in his connexions abroad, he “ may find that he had set his foot on an abyss “ covered with flowers. In short, it is absurd to



“suppose that such alliances can guarantee or ensure any advantage.”

The announcement of the Emperor's second marriage, was a source of joy to those prudent citizens who looked forward to the future. A few days after he had formed his determination, Napoleon said to one of his Ministers (the Duke Decrès), in a moment of good humoured familiarity, “Well; it appears that people are very much pleased with my intended marriage.”—“Yes, Sire.”—“I suppose they expect the lion will slumber.”—“To say the truth, Sire, we are somewhat inclined to form that expectation.”—“Well,” resumed Napoleon, after a few moments' silence, “it is a mistake : and it is not the fault of the lion either. Slumber would be as sweet to him as to any other. But do not you see, that while I am, to all appearance, *incessantly attacking*, I am, nevertheless, always engaged in *self defence* ?”

The correctness of this assertion might have been doubted, while the terrible conflict lasted; but the joy and indiscretion of the triumphant party, have sufficiently confirmed its truth. Some boasted of having formed the determination of prosecuting the war until they had accomplished the destruction of their enemy : others\* have unblushingly proclaimed, that the plot for Napoleon's

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\* *Austrian Observer*, 1817 or 1818.

overthrow was hatched under the mask of alliance and friendship!

During this and the two succeeding days, my attention was wholly occupied by a contest which concerned me personally, and which has had so much influence on my subsequent destiny, that I cannot pass it over in silence. Ever since my removal to Longwood, I had had, as a servant, a free mulatto, with whom I was very well satisfied ; but Sir Hudson Lowe suddenly took it into his head to remove him.

Prompted by the determination of tormenting us, by every means his imagination could suggest, or (as many are inclined to believe,) following up a perfidiously laid plan, he sent the English officer on duty, to inform me, that he had conceived some doubts as to the propriety of my being attended by a native of the Island ; and that he intended to remove my servant, and send me one of his own choosing. My answer was brief and positive ; “ The “ Governor,” said I, “ has it in his power to send “ away my servant if he pleases ; but he may spare “ himself the trouble of sending me one of his “ choosing. I am daily learning better and better “ how to dispense with the comforts of life. I “ can, if necessary, serve myself : this additional “ privation will be but slightly felt, amidst the sufferings to which we are subjected.”

This circumstance occasioned the interchange of a vast number of messages and notes. Sir

Hudson Lowe wrote three or four times every day to the officer on duty, directing him to make various communications to me. He observed, that he did not understand my scruples, and could not conceive why I should object to any servant he might send me. . . . . One of his selecting was as good as any other. . . . . The offer of making the choice himself, was merely a mark of attention, &c.

I was distressed to see the poor officer thus mercilessly sent to and fro; and I was also heartily tired of the business myself. I therefore begged that he would spare himself further trouble, by assuring the Governor, that to all his communications, my reply must invariably be the same; namely, that he might send away my servant if he pleased; but that he must not think of obliging me to receive one of his choosing; that he might place me in garrison by force, but never with my own consent. While this correspondence was pending, my servant was sent for, interrogated, withdrawn from my service, then sent back again, and at length finally withdrawn.

I rendered an account of the whole affair to the Emperor, who highly applauded my determination of not admitting a spy among us. "But," said he, in the most engaging manner, "as this sacrifice " has been made for the interest of all, it is not " proper that you alone should be the sufferer. " Send to Gentilini, my *valet de pied*, and let him

“ wait on you : he will be very happy to earn a few “ Napoleons in addition to his wages : besides, tell “ him it is by my desire.” Gentilini, at first, cheerfully undertook the duty ; but in the evening, the poor fellow came to inform me that some one had told him, it was not proper for one of the Emperor’s servants to attend on a private person ! . . . The Emperor had the goodness to send for Gentilini, and to repeat the orders with his own mouth.

Thus the Governor daily persecutes us in every imaginable way. I do not mention all the circumstances of this kind that are continually occurring, not because habit has taught me to accommodate myself to them, but because the vexations that arise from mere ill-nature, are but trifles, in comparison with the greater miseries which we have to endure. . . .

If I attempt to portray the horrors of my own situation alone, let it be considered, that I am exiled, and probably for ever, to a desert rock, 2,000 leagues from home, confined in a small prison, beneath a sky, in a climate, and on a soil, totally different from those of my native country. I am hastening to a premature grave, the only probable conclusion of my misery. Bereft of my wife, children, and friends, who, though they still live, may be said to be no longer in the same world with me ; shut out from all communication with mankind, I deplore the recollection of family affections, and the charms of friendship and society. . .

Certainly, there is no man, whatever be his country, or his opinions, but must commiserate my lot. . . . But, in a moment, I can reverse the picture, and my situation will appear an enviable one! . . .

Where is the heart that does not beat at recollection of the achievements of Alexander and Cæsar? Who can approach the relics of Charlemagne without emotion? How happy should we be, could we recal the words, the accents, of Henry IV.! Thus, when oppressed by mental dejection, when I feel the necessity of rousing my drooping spirits, while my heart is overflowing with these sensations, and my mind filled with these ideas, I exclaim, I possess all this, and more than this! Here, I am not surrounded by mere illusions and historical recollections; I am in actual contact with the living man who has accomplished so many prodigies. Every day, every moment, I may contemplate the features of him, who, with a glance, ordered battles, and decided the fate of empires. I may gaze on the brow that is adorned with the laurels of Rivoli, Marengo, Austerlitz, Wagram, Jena, and Friedland. I may presume to touch the hand that has wielded so many sceptres, and distributed so many crowns; which seized the enemy's colours at Arcola and Lodi; and which, on a solemn occasion, surrendered into the hands of an afflicted wife, the only proofs of her husband's guilt. I hear the voice of him, who, when addressing his troops, in sight of the Egyptian

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pyramids, said, "My lads, from the summits of those monuments, forty centuries look down upon us!" who, halting and uncovering before a column of wounded Austrian soldiers, exclaimed, "Honour and respect to the unfortunate brave." I converse, almost familiarly, with the Monarch who ruled Europe; whose pastime was the embellishment of our cities, and the prosperity of our provinces; who raised us to so high a rank in the estimation of nations; and who wafted our glory to the clouds! . . . . I see him, I hear him speak, I attend on him, and, perhaps, even help to console him! . . . . Can I then lay claim to pity? On the contrary, will not thousands envy my lot? Who can boast of possessing so many sources of happiness, in circumstances similar to ours?

*New Works planned by the Emperor.—Remarks on great Commanders; War, &c.—Napoleon's Opinions on various Institutions.—Advocates.—Curates.—Miscellaneous Observations.*

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14th.—The Emperor sent for me about six o'clock. He informed me that he had just been dictating a chapter on maritime rights. He spoke to me of some other works he had in view. I ventured to remind him of the fourteen paragraphs which he had already planned out, and to which I alluded on a former occasion. He seemed pleased that I had mentioned the circumstance,

and assured me that he would, one day or other, carry his design into execution.

He read and corrected the valuable notes which he had dictated to the Grand Marshal, on ancient and modern warfare, the different plans of composing and regulating armies, &c. He afterwards entered into conversation, and, among other things, said, "No series of great actions is the mere work of chance and fortune; it is always the result of reflection and genius. Great men rarely fail in the most perilous undertakings. Look at Alexander, Cæsar, Hannibal, the great Gustavus, and others; they always succeeded. Were they great men merely because they were fortunate? No; but because, being great men, they possessed the art of commanding fortune. When we come to inquire into the causes of their success, we are astonished to find that they did every thing to obtain it.

"Alexander, when scarcely beyond the age of boyhood, with a mere handful of brave troops, conquered a quarter of the globe. But was this achievement the result of a mere accidental irruption, a sort of unexpected deluge? No; all was profoundly calculated, boldly executed, and prudently managed. Alexander proved himself at once a distinguished warrior, politician, and legislator. Unfortunately, on attaining the zenith of glory and success, his head was turned, and his heart corrupted. He commenced his

“career with the mind of Trajan ; but he closed  
“it with the heart of Nero, and the manners of  
“Heliogabalus.” The Emperor here described the  
campaigns of Alexander, in such a manner, as  
enabled me to view the subject in a totally new  
light.

Alluding to Cæsar, the Emperor remarked, that  
he, the reverse of Alexander, had commenced his  
career at an advanced period of life ; that his youth  
had been passed in indolence and vice ; but that he  
had ultimately evinced the most active and elevated  
mind. He thought him one of the most amiable  
characters in history. “Cæsar,” observed he, “over-  
“came the Gauls, and the laws of his country.  
“But his great warlike achievements must not be  
“attributed merely to chance and fortune.” Here  
he analyzed the victories of Cæsar, as he had done  
those of Alexander.

“Hannibal,” continued the Emperor, “is per-  
“haps the most surprising character of any, from  
“the intrepidity, confidence, and grandeur, evinced  
“in all his enterprises. At the age of twenty-six,  
“he conceived what is scarcely conceivable, and  
“executed what must have been looked upon as  
“impossible. Renouncing all communication with  
“his country, he marched through hostile or un-  
“known nations, which he was obliged to attack  
“and subdue. He crossed the Pyrenees and the  
“Alps, which were presumed to be impassable,  
“and descended upon Italy, sacrificing the half of



“ his army for the mere acquisition of his field of  
“ battle, the mere right of fighting. He occupied  
“ and governed Italy for the space of sixteen  
“ years, being several times within a hair’s breadth  
“ of possessing himself of Rome, and only relin-  
“ quished his prey when his enemies profiting by  
“ the lesson he had set them, marched to attack  
“ the Carthaginian territory. Can it be supposed  
“ that Hannibal’s glorious career and achievements  
“ were the mere result of chance, and fortune’s  
“ favours? Certainly, Hannibal must have been  
“ endowed with great vigour of mind, and he must  
“ also have possessed a vast consciousness of his  
“ own skill in the art of war, when being interro-  
“ gated by his youthful conqueror, he hesitated  
“ not to place himself, though subdued, next in  
“ rank to Alexander and Pyrrhus, whom he es-  
“ teemed as the first of warriors.

“ All the great Captains of antiquity,” continued Napoleon, “ and those who in modern times have  
“ successfully retraced their footsteps, performed  
“ vast achievements, only by conforming with the  
“ rules and principles of the art; that is to say, by  
“ correct combinations, and by justly comparing  
“ the relation between means and consequences,  
“ efforts and obstacles. They succeeded only by  
“ the strict observance of these rules, whatever may  
“ have been the boldness of their enterprises, or  
“ the extent of the advantages gained. They in-  
“ variably practised war as a science. Thus they

“ have become our great models, and it is only by  
“ closely imitating them, that we can hope to come  
“ near them.

“ My greatest successes have been ascribed  
“ merely to good fortune ; and my reverses will  
“ no doubt be imputed to my faults. But if I  
“ should write an account of my campaigns, it will  
“ be seen that in both cases, my reason and facul-  
“ ties were exercised in conformity with prin-  
“ ciples.”

It is to be hoped, that the Emperor will execute the idea of writing his campaigns. How invaluable would be Napoleon's commentaries!\*

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\* The second livraison of the *Memoirs of Napoleon*, dictated to Generals Montholon and Gourgaud, now in the course of publication, contains most interesting critical notes by Napoleon, on a military work. These notes contain remarks on the same great captains of antiquity, that have just been noticed here ; but with the superior copiousness and force which a deliberate dictation may be expected to possess over the mere report of a current conversation. Another very interesting portion of the volumes here alluded to, is the collection of the official documents and protocol of the negotiations of Chatillon. We have heard of the embarrassment of Louis XIV. at the close of the war, relative to the succession, and the mortifying conferences of Gertruidenberg ; but heavens ! what were they in comparison with the Congress of Chatillon ? And what was the desperate state of the unfortunate French Empire, and the situation of her plenipotentiary, contending with his single efforts against all the victorious diplomacy of Europe ?—One cannot, therefore, wonder at the high consideration and esteem which the Duke of Vicenza may be said to have commanded from foreigners of all

The Emperor analyzed the characters of Gustavus-Adolphus and Condé: with the latter, he said, science seemed to be instinctive, nature having created him with maturity of intellect. Turenne, on the contrary, had perfected his talent by dint of study and acquirements. I remarked, that Turenne had formed no pupils, while Condé had left many distinguished ones behind him. "That was the mere caprice of chance," replied the Emperor; "the contrary ought to have happened. But it is not always in the master's power to form good pupils; nature must lend her aid: the seed must be sown in a fertile soil." He made many remarks on Eugène, Marlborough, Vendome, &c. Frederick the Great, he said, was in all respects a super-excellent tactician, and possessed the art of rendering his troops absolute machines. "How often," said he, "men's characters prove to be totally different from what their early actions indicate! Do they themselves know what they really are? Frederick," continued he, "at the commencement of his career took to flight, in the very face of victory; and, certainly the

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countries, and to which his elevation of character, his loyalty and sincerity, so justly entitled him. His correspondence throughout, breathes the sentiments of the faithful subject, the devoted friend, and above all, the excellent citizen. Without discussing the merits of his personal opinions, it is impossible to peruse his letters, without being inspired by sentiments of respect for the writer.

“ whole of his subsequent history, proves him to  
“ have been the most intrepid, most tenacious, and  
“ coolest of men.”

After dinner, the Emperor, who was pleased with the subject of the dictations and conversation in which he had been engaged during the morning, discoursed on the same topics for nearly an hour; discussing in the most masterly and ingenious way, a variety of points connected with the art of war.

Alluding to the great difference between ancient and modern warfare, he observed: “ The invention of fire-arms has wrought a total change.  
“ This great discovery operates entirely to the advantage of assailants, though many moderns  
“ have maintained the contrary opinion. The  
“ corporeal strength of the ancients,” added he,  
“ was in harmony with their offensive and defensive weapons; ours, on the other hand, are entirely beyond our sphere.”

Should the Emperor leave behind him his thoughts on these points, they will be truly invaluable. In course of the evening, he pronounced his opinion on several military subjects; sometimes embracing the highest questions, and sometimes descending into the minutest details.

He remarked, that war frequently depended on accidents, and that though a commander ought to be guided by general principles, yet, he should never lose sight of any thing that may enable him

to profit by accidental circumstances. The vulgar call good fortune, that which, on the contrary, is produced by the calculations of genius.

In the present mode of military operations, he thought it advisable that greater consistency should be given to the third rank of infantry, or, that it should be suppressed ; and he explained his reasons for this.

He was of opinion, that infantry charged by cavalry, should fire from a distance, instead of firing closely, according to the present practice. He proved the advantage of this method.

He observed, that infantry and cavalry left to themselves, without artillery, could procure no decisive result ; but that, with the aid of artillery, all things else being equal, cavalry might destroy infantry. He clearly explained these facts, and many others besides.

He added, that artillery really decided the fate of armies and nations ; that men now fought with blows of cannon balls, as they fought with blows of fists ; for in battle, as in a siege, the art consisted in making numerous discharges converge on one and the same point ; that amidst the conflict, he who had sufficient address to direct a mass of artillery suddenly and unexpectedly on any particular point of the enemy's force, was sure of the victory. This, he said, had been his grand secret, and his grand plan of tactics.

The Emperor conceived that it would be im-

possible to form a perfect army, without a revolution in the manners and education of the soldier, and perhaps even the officer. It would be necessary to abolish our arms, magazines, commissaries, and carriages. There could be no perfect army, until in imitation of the Roman custom, the soldier should receive his supply of corn, grind it in his hand-mill, and bake his bread himself. We could not hope to possess an army, until we should abolish all our monstrous train of civil attendants, and commissary officers.

“ I contemplated all these changes,” said he, “ but they never could have been put in practice, “ except during profound peace. An army in a “ state of war, would infallibly have rebelled “ against such innovations.”

I will here insert some notes which I have collected at various times, relative to the new plans projected by the Emperor, not only in the army, but on many other points essential to social organization.

The Emperor often observed, that he intended, on the establishment of peace, to induce the powers of Europe to make an immense reduction of their standing armies. He wished that each sovereign should limit himself to his guard, as the framework of the army, to be raised in case of necessity. He intended, should he have found himself compelled, to keep up a numerous army in time of peace, to employ the troops in public works, and

to have disciplined and provisioned them on a peculiar plan. Some of these ideas will, doubtless, be found in Napoleon's Memoirs; I know the Emperor dictated remarks on these subjects, to different individuals of his suite.

He said, he had found that in his plans of campaigns and expeditions, the greatest difficulty arose from the modern method of provisioning troops; by which it was necessary first to find corn, then to get it ground, and next to get the flour made into bread. The Roman custom, which he highly approved, and which he had intended to introduce wholly or in part, would have obviated all these inconveniences. "By the adoption of the ancient plan," said he, "an army might have marched to the further extremity of the world. But, it would require time to bring about such a transition. It could not have been accomplished by a mere order of the day. I had long entertained the idea of such a change; but however great might have been my power, I should never have attempted to introduce it by force. There is no subordination with empty stomachs. Such an object could only have been effected in time of peace, and by insensible degrees: I should have accomplished it by creating new military manners."

The Emperor constantly insisted on subjecting the whole nation to the laws of the conscription. "I am inexorable on the subject of exemption,"

said he, one day in the Council of State;—"it would be criminal. How could I acquit my conscience with having exposed the life of one man, for the advantage of another? I do not even think I would exempt my own son." On another occasion, he said, "the conscription is the root of a nation, its moral purification, the real foundation of its habits. By means of the conscription," he added, "the nation was classed according to its real interests for defence abroad, and tranquillity at home. Organized, built up in this way, the French people might have defied the world, and might with justice have renewed the saying of the proud Gauls:—*If the sky should fall, we will keep it up with our lances.*"

According to Napoleon's plans, the conscription, so far from impeding education, would have been the means of promoting it. He intended to have established, in each regiment, a school for the prosecution of labours of every kind, either in polite education, the liberal arts, or mere mechanics. "And nothing would have been so easy," he remarked. "The principle being once adopted, we should have seen each regiment supplied with all that was necessary, out of its own ranks. And what advantages would have accrued to the mass of society, by the dispersion of these young men, with their acquired knowledge, even had it been merely elementary, and the habits necessarily produced by it!"



The Emperor one day, in the course of conversation, observed, that if he had had leisure, there were few institutions in which he would not have made improvements. He dwelt on the evils arising from lawsuits, which, he said, were an absolute leprosy, a social cancer. "My code," said he, "had singularly diminished lawsuits, by placing numerous causes within the decision of every individual. But there still remained much for the legislator to accomplish. Not that he could hope to prevent men from quarrelling: that they have done in all ages; but he might have prevented a third party in society, from living upon the quarrels of the two others, and even stirring up disputes, to promote their own interest. It was, therefore, my intention to establish the rule, that lawyers should never receive fees except when they gained causes. Thus what litigations would have been prevented! On the first examination of a cause, a lawyer would have rejected it, had it been at all doubtful. There would have been little fear that a man, living by his labour, would have undertaken to conduct a lawsuit, from mere motives of vanity; and if he had, he would himself have been the only sufferer in case of failure. But my idea was opposed by a multitude of objections, and as I had no time to lose, I postponed the further consideration of the subject. Yet I am still convinced," added he, "that the scheme might,

“ with certain modifications, have been turned to  
“ the best account.”

When speaking of the clergy, the Emperor remarked, that he intended to have rendered curates a very important and useful class of men. “ The  
“ more they are enlightened,” said he, “ the less  
“ will they be inclined to abuse their ministry.”

Therefore, in addition to their theological studies, he wished them to acquire a knowledge of agriculture, and the elements of medicine and law. “ Thus,” said he, “ dogmatism and contro-  
“ versy, the battle-horse and armour of fools and  
“ fanatics, would gradually have become more and  
“ more rare in the pulpit, from whence would have  
“ been promulgated the doctrines of pure morality,  
“ always pleasing, eloquent, and persuasive. As  
“ men usually love to discourse on what they know,  
“ the curates would have instructed the peasantry  
“ in their agricultural labours, counselled them  
“ against chicanery, and given advice to the sick.  
“ Such pastors would have been real blessings to  
“ their flocks ; and, as they would have been al-  
“ lowed a liberal stipend, they would have enjoyed  
“ high consideration : they would have respected  
“ themselves, and would have been respected by  
“ all. They would have possessed the power of  
“ feudal lords, and they might, without danger,  
“ have exercised all their influence. A curate would  
“ have been a natural justice of peace, a true moral  
“ chief, to whom the direction of the population

“ might have been safely intrusted, because he  
“ would himself have been dependant on the  
“ Government for his appointment and salary.  
“ If to all this be added, the study and priva-  
“ tion necessary for the calling, and supposing the  
“ individuals to be possessed of good qualities of  
“ heart and mind, it must be confessed that pas-  
“ tors, thus constituted, would have produced a  
“ revolution in society, highly advantageous to  
“ the cause of morality.”

I recollect having heard the Emperor, in the Council of State, declaim against the perquisites of ministers of the Gospel, and point out the indecorum of their bartering, as he said, for sacred, and, frequently, indispensable objects. He therefore proposed putting an end to this practice. “ By rendering the acts of religion gratuitous,” he observed, “ we shall elevate their dignity, beneficence, and charity ; and confer a great benefit on the poor. Nothing would be easier than to substitute legal imposts for these perquisites. Every one is born, many marry, and all die ; and yet births, marriages, and deaths, are three great subjects of religious jobbing, which, in my opinion, are particularly objectionable, and which I would wish to abolish. Since these are matters which concern all equally, why not place them under a special impost, or include them among the subjects of general taxation ? ” This proposition came to no result.

I also recollect having heard the Emperor suggest, that all public functionaries, and men employed under Government, even officers in the army, should themselves form a fund for their future pensions, by a slight deduction from their annual salaries. "Thus," said he, "the future support of these individuals would no longer be an object of solicitation, or a favour; it would be a right. The deductions made from their salaries would be thrown into a sinking fund, liable to this application. It would be a certain property, which they might regard as their own, and upon which they might draw, without opposition, on retiring from the public service." It was urged, in objection, that there were incomes, those of military officers, in particular, that would not admit of deduction.—"Well," replied the Emperor, "I will make up the deficiency. I will add whatever is necessary for the deduction."—"But," it was asked, "what end will that answer? If we have to pay the same amount, where will be the economy? where will be the advantage?"—"The advantage," replied the Emperor, "will be in the difference between certainty and uncertainty; in the settled course of the treasury, and the tranquillity of citizens, who would thus possess their guarantee."

The Emperor warmly defended this idea, and adverted to it oftener than once; it however produced no result. I have already remarked, that I

have often known him to enter upon extempore discussions in this way, and even to comment on law projects after they were printed. The following brief quotation will afford an idea of the labours and activity of the Emperor's reign :—" It is calculated that Napoleon's Government, in the space of fourteen years and five months, presents 61,139 deliberations of the Council of State, on different subjects! . . . " \*

I have often heard Napoleon repeat, that he wished for the establishment of an European Institution, and European prizes, to superintend and stimulate the learned societies of every country.

He would have wished to fix throughout Europe, uniformity of coins, weights, and measures, and also uniformity of legislation. " Why," said he, " might not my Napoleon Code have served as the " groundwork for an European Code, and my Imperial University have been the basis of an European University? Thus the whole population " of Europe would have become one and the same " family; and every man, while he, travelled " abroad, would still have found himself at home."

Various other subjects, of the above nature, were canvassed at different times; but I refrain from noticing them, as my memory does not enable me to enter into details.

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\* Montvéran's *Histoire Critique et Raisonnée*.

*Alarming Change in the Emperor.—The Governor surrounds us with Fortifications.—Panic Terrors of Sir Hudson Lowe.—General Lamarque.—Madame Recamier and a Prussian Prince.*

15th.—About three o'clock, the Emperor, with whom I breakfasted this morning, sent for me. He wished to take the air, and he endeavoured to walk as far as the wood; but the air was too keen for him. He then called at the Grand Marshal's, and he sat for a considerable time in an arm chair, apparently quite exhausted. We remarked the colour of his countenance, his thinness, and his evident debility; and we were much distressed at the change observable in him.

As we passed through the wood, the Emperor saw the fortifications with which we are about to be surrounded; and he could not forbear smiling at these useless and absurd preparations. He remarked, that the ground in our neighbourhood had been entirely disfigured, by the removal of the kind of turf with which it was covered, and which had been carried away for the purpose of raising banks. In fact, for the last two months, the Governor has been incessantly digging ditches, constructing parapets, planting palisadoes, &c. He has quite blockaded us in Longwood, and the stable at present presents every appearance of a redoubt. We are at a loss to guess where will be

the advantage equivalent to the expense and labour bestowed on these works, which by turns excite the ill-humour and ridicule of the soldiers and Chinese, who are employed upon them, and who now distinguish Longwood and the stable, by the names of *Hudson Fort* and *Lowe Fort*. We are assured, that Sir Hudson Lowe often starts out of his sleep to devise new measures of security. "Surely," said the Emperor, "this seems something like madness. Why cannot the man sleep tranquilly, and let us alone? Has he not sense enough to perceive that the security of our local situation here, is sufficient to remove all his panic terrors?"—"Sire," said an individual present, "he cannot forget Capri, which, with 2,000 men, thirty pieces of cannon, and batteries mounted to the clouds, was taken by 1,200 Frenchmen, commanded by the brave Lamarque, who could only reach Sir Hudson Lowe by the help of a triple escalade."—"Well," said the Emperor, "this only proves that our Governor is a better jailor than a general."

For some time past, I have felt seriously alarmed respecting the health of my son. The pains of which he formerly complained, have been succeeded by violent palpitations, attended by fainting fits; and he is frequently obliged to rise during the night, to relieve himself by walking about, or assuming some particular position.

Dr. O'Meara thought he evinced symptoms of

aneurism, and considered him to be in a dangerous state. I requested the chief medical officer, Dr. Baxter, to hold a consultation with Dr. O'Meara. The result of the conference greatly relieved my anxiety; for my son was declared to be free from danger.

During the conversations of the day, the Emperor alluded to Madame de Stael, of whom, however, he said nothing new, except mentioning some letters which had been examined by the police, and which related to Madame Recamier and a Prussian Prince.

"This correspondence," said the Emperor, "presented unequivocal proofs of the influence of Madame Recamier's charms, and the high regard which the Prince entertained for her. The letters contained nothing less than offers or promises of marriage on his part."

The following is an explanation of this affair. The beautiful Madame Recamier, whose pure reputation stood unassailed during those stormy times in which few escaped censure, was residing with Madame de Stael, to whom she had heroically devoted herself, when one of the Prussian Princes, who had been made prisoner at Eylare, and who was proceeding to Italy by Napoleon's permission, alighted at the castle of Coppet, with the intention of resting only for a few hours. Here, however, he was detained during the whole of the summer by the charms of Madame Recamier, who was



voluntarily sharing the exile of her friend. This lady, and the young Prince, both considered themselves as the victims of Napoleon, and their common hatred of him, whom they looked upon as their oppressor, probably engendered the interest which they mutually conceived for each other. Inspired with an ardent passion, the Prince, in spite of the difficulties which his exalted rank naturally suggested, conceived the idea of marrying Madame Recamier. He communicated his design to Madame de Stael, whose poetic imagination prompted her to favour a scheme that was calculated to diffuse a sort of romantic interest over Coppet. The Prince was recalled to Berlin, but absence produced no change in his sentiments. He still ardently prosecuted his suit; but Madame Recamier constantly declined this unexpected elevation, either from natural generosity of feeling, or from her catholic prejudices against divorce.

To this circumstance we are indebted for the picture of *Corinne*, which is accounted one of the most original creations of Gerard's pencil. The Prince ordered the picture as a compliment to Madame Recamier.

Since I have mentioned the name of Madame de Stael, I will take this opportunity of observing that since the publication of the preceding volumes of my Journal, I have been visited by some of the most intimate friends of that celebrated woman. These individuals have assured me, that Madame

de Stael has been often represented to have employed expressions in reference to Napoleon, of which she was wholly incapable,—for example, the phrase *Robespierre on horseback*, which they said, they could take upon themselves conscientiously to disavow. I have moreover been informed, that Madame de Stael was often more favourable to Napoleon in her private conversation, than in her writings, which, it must be confessed, are, in all that relates to the Emperor, embittered by a spirit of malignity and resentment. One of her friends assured me, that he had been very much gratified on finding it mentioned in my Journal, that Napoleon at St. Helena, had compared Madame de Stael at once to Armida and Clorinda. I was informed, that Madame de Stael, on her part, at the time of her enthusiasm for the young General of the army of Italy, had compared him at once to Scipio and Tancred; because, as she said, he combined the simple virtues of the one, with the brilliant achievements of the other.

After dinner, the Emperor ordered his favourite Racine to be brought out, and he read to us some of the finest passages in *Iphigenia*, *Mithridates*, and *Bajazet*. “Though Racine has produced chefs-d’œuvre in themselves,” said he, “yet, he has “diffused over them a perpetual air of insipidity. “Love is eternally introduced, with its tone of “languor, and its tiresome accompaniments. But “these faults must not be attributed entirely to

“ Racine, but to the manners of the age in which  
“ he wrote. Love was then, at even a later period,  
“ the whole business of life with every one. This  
“ is always the case, when society is in a state of  
“ idleness. As for us,” said he, “ our thoughts  
“ have been cruelly turned to other subjects, by  
“ the great events of the revolution.”

The Emperor likewise condemned the whole of the celebrated plan of campaign of Mithridates. He remarked, that it might be fine as a narrative ; but that it was absurd as a conception.

*Portraits of the present English Ministers.—The Emperor condemns all Ministries.—Honourable Exceptions.—Napoleon’s Sentiments for the Individuals who served him.*

16th.—I found the Emperor amusing himself by looking over an English publication, a kind of political almanack. Alluding to the members of the English Ministry who were mentioned in the work, he said to me : “ Do you know any of them ? “ What was the general opinion of them, when “ you were in England ? ” — “ Sire,” I replied, “ it “ is so long since I left England, that nearly all “ who are now distinguished in the ministry, were “ then only commencing their career. At that time “ none of them had come forward on the scene.”

The Emperor, having mentioned Lord Liverpool, said : “ he appears to me to be the most “ worthy man among them. I have heard a great “ deal of good of him. He seems to have some

“feeling of propriety and decorum. I have no  
“objection to a man being my enemy; every one  
“has his own business and his own duties to per-  
“form; but I have certainly a right to be indig-  
“nant at unworthy conduct and measures.” I  
mentioned to the Emperor, that when I was in  
England, Lord Liverpool’s father, Mr. Jenkinson,  
who successively became Lord Hawkesbury, and  
Lord Liverpool, had made his political fortune.  
He was said to have been a very good kind of  
man, and a private friend of George III.; he was  
distinguished for assiduity, and particularly di-  
rected his attention to diplomatic documents.

The Emperor next mentioned Lord Sidmouth.  
“I am told,” said he, “that he too is a worthy  
“man enough: but he possesses no great share of  
“understanding. He is one of those honest  
“blockheads, who, with the utmost sincerity, con-  
“cur in all sorts of mischief.”

“Sire,” said I, “in my time, Lord Sidmouth,  
“under the name of Mr. Addington, was a mem-  
“ber of the House of Commons, and was a man  
“generally esteemed. He was said to be the  
“creature of Mr. Pitt, who was understood to have  
“appointed Addington as his successor, in order  
“to ensure to himself the means of returning to  
“the ministry whenever he should think fit. The  
“public were certainly greatly astonished to see  
“Pitt succeeded by Mr. Addington; as the post  
“was considered to be very far beyond his talents.

“ One of the English opposition papers alluding to  
“ Mr. Addington, quoted the remark made by a  
“ philosopher (Locke I believe), who says, that the  
“ mind of a child is a blank sheet of paper, on  
“ which nature has yet written nothing; and the  
“ Journal in question, humourously observed,  
“ that when nature wrote upon the blank sheet of  
“ the Doctor (the nickname then given to Mr. Ad-  
“ dington), it must needs be confessed, she left  
“ plenty of margin.”

“ Well,” resumed the Emperor, “ what do you  
“ know of that sad fellow, into whose keeping we  
“ have been delivered up, that Lord B . . . . . ?”  
“ Absolutely nothing, Sire,” I replied, “ either of  
“ his origin, his person, or his character.” — “ For  
“ my part,” said he, with some degree of warmth, I  
“ have no opportunity of knowing him, except by  
“ his conduct towards me; and in judging from  
“ that, I hold him to be *the most . . . , the most . . . ,*  
“ *the most . . . , of men.* The brutality of his orders,  
“ the coarseness of his language, the choice of his  
“ agent, all authorize me to make this declaration.  
“ An executioner such as he has sent here, is not  
“ easily found. Such a selection could not be made  
“ at random. He must have been sought for,  
“ tried, judged, and instructed. Certainly, this in  
“ my opinion, is sufficient to justify the moral con-  
“ demnation of the man who could stoop to so  
“ base a course. {By the arm which he moves, it is  
“ easy to guess what must be his heart!”

I must confess, that yielding to feelings of delicacy, I had at first almost prevailed on myself to suppress or to soften down the expressions above quoted ; but on the other hand, certain scruples deterred me from doing so. The shade of him who was so deeply injured, is, thought I, at this moment hovering above me, and seems to say :—" Since you make me speak, at least pre-serve my words." Justice asserts her rights. Men, in the enjoyment of honours and powers, must feel it incumbent on them to answer charges that are brought against them. Let the accused justify himself:—if he can, so much the better.

Speaking of Lord C . . . . ., the Emperor said :—" This man governs all the rest, and rules  
" even the Prince himself, by dint of impudence  
" and intrigue. Supported by a majority of his  
" own creating, he is always ready to contend,  
" with the utmost effrontery, against reason, law,  
" justice, and truth. No falsehood staggers him :  
" he stops at nothing, well knowing that he can  
" always command votes to applaud and legalize  
" whatever he does. He has completely sacrificed  
" his country, and is daily degrading her by acting  
" in opposition to her policy, doctrines, and in-  
" terests : in short, he has entirely delivered her  
" up to the continent. The situation of England  
" is becoming worse and worse. Heaven knows  
" how she will extricate herself!"

" Lord C . . . . . " continued he, " is, I am

“informed, looked upon even in England, as a  
“man politically immoral. He commenced his  
“career by an act of political apostasy, which,  
“though common enough in his country, never-  
“theless, always leaves an indelible stain. He  
“entered upon public life as an advocate of the  
“people, and he has finally become the engine of  
“power and despotism. If all that is said of him  
“be correct, he must be execrated by his coun-  
“trymen, the Irish, whom he has betrayed, and  
“by the English, who may justly regard him as  
“the destroyer of their domestic liberties, and  
“foreign interests.

“He has had the impudence to bring forward  
“in parliament, as authentic facts, statements  
“which he knew to be false, and which probably  
“he himself fabricated: and yet, on the authority  
“of these documents, Murat’s dethronement was  
“decided. Lord C . . . . . makes it his busi-  
“ness to belie himself daily in parliament, and in  
“public meetings, by putting into my mouth,  
“language calculated to prejudice me in the eyes  
“of the English, though he is well aware that he  
“is making false assertions. This conduct is the  
“more base; since he himself withholds from me  
“the power of refuting him.

“Lord C . . . . . is the pupil of Pitt, of whom  
“he probably thinks himself the equal, though he  
“is merely the ape of that distinguished statesman.  
“He has incessantly pursued the plans and plots

"of his master against France; but even here  
 "pertinacity and obstinacy were perhaps his only  
 "good qualities. But Pitt had grand views: with  
 "him his country's interest took place of every  
 "consideration. He possessed talent and inge-  
 "nuity; and from England, he moved the lever  
 "by which he ruled and influenced the continental  
 "sovereigns at will. C . . . . ., on the  
 "contrary, substituting intrigue for ingenuity, and  
 "subsidies for genius, is regardless of his coun-  
 "try's interest, and has incessantly employed the  
 "credit and influence of the continental sove-  
 "reigns, merely to confirm and perpetuate his  
 "own power at home. However, such is the  
 "course of things in this world, that Pitt with all  
 "his talent, constantly failed, while the incapable  
 "C . . . . . has been completely successful.  
 "Oh, blindness of fortune!

"C . . . . . has proved himself entirely the  
 "man of the continent. When master of Europe,  
 "he satisfied all the monarchs of the continent, and  
 "only forgot his own country. His conduct has  
 "been so prejudicial to the national interests, so  
 "incompatible with the doctrines of his country,  
 "and altogether presents so much the appear-  
 "ance of inconsistency, that it is difficult to  
 "conceive how so wise a people as the English  
 "can allow themselves to be governed by such  
 "a fool!

"He adopts legitimacy as the basis of his creed,



“ and wishes to establish it as a political dogma,  
“ while that principle would sap the very founda-  
“ tion of the throne of his own sovereign. Be-  
“ sides, he acknowledges Bernadotte in opposition  
“ to the legitimate Gustavus IV., who sacrificed  
“ himself for England; and he acknowledges the  
“ usurper Ferdinand VII., to the detriment of his  
“ venerable father Charles IV.

“ He and the allies establish as another funda-  
“ mental basis, the restoration of the old order of  
“ things, the redress of what they term past in-  
“ juries, injustice, and depredation; finally, the  
“ return of political morality. Yet C . . . . .  
“ scrupled not to sacrifice the republics of Venice  
“ and Genoa, by abandoning the former to Austria,  
“ and annexing the latter to Piedmont. He en-  
“ riched Russia by the possession of Poland. He  
“ robbed the King of Saxony, for the advantage  
“ of Prussia, who can no longer afford any aid to  
“ England. He separated Norway from Denmark,  
“ while, had the latter power been left more inde-  
“ pendent of Russia, she might have surrendered to  
“ England the key of the Baltic; and Norway was  
“ transferred to Sweden, which, by the loss of Fin-  
“ land and the Islands of the Baltic, has fallen  
“ entirely under the subjection of Russia. Finally,  
“ by a violation of the first principles of general  
“ policy, he neglected, in his all-powerful situation,  
“ to restore the independence of Poland, thereby  
“ exposing Constantinople, endangering the whole

“ of Europe, and preparing a thousand troubles in  
“ Germany.

“ I need say nothing of the monstrous incon-  
“ sistency of a Minister, the representative of a  
“ nation pre-eminently free, restoring Italy to the  
“ yoke of slavery, keeping Spain in a state of  
“ bondage, and exerting every effort to forge fet-  
“ ters for the whole continent. Does he think  
“ that liberty is only proper for the English, and  
“ that the rest of Europe is not fit to enjoy it?\*

“ But even supposing him to entertain this opi-  
“ nion, how does he explain his conduct with re-  
“ gard to his own countrymen, whom he is daily  
“ depriving of some of their rights? For exam-  
“ ple : the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act,  
“ right or wrong; the enforcement of the Alien  
“ Bill, by which (will it be credited?) the wife of  
“ an Englishman, should she happen to be a fo-  
“ reigner, may be driven from England, at the will  
“ and pleasure of the Minister; the endless dis-  
“ pension of spies and informers, those exciting  
“ agents and infernal instigators, by whose aid cri-  
“ minals may always be created, and victims mul-  
“ tiplied. In short, C . . . . . has established  
“ at home, the system of cold violence, the iron  
“ yoke, which he exercises over foreign depen-

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\* Lord C . . . . . actually had the assurance to make this declaration, and nearly in the words above quoted, during a debate in Parliament, relative to the Constitution of Baden or Bavaria.

“dencies.\* No; Lord C—— is not calculated to  
“be the Minister of a free people, or to command  
“the respect of foreign nations. He is the vizier  
“of the continental Sovereigns, at their insti-  
“gation training his countrymen to slavery: he  
“is the connecting link, the conductor, by which  
“English gold is dispersed over the continent,  
“and the despotic doctrines of other countries  
“imported into England.

“He proves himself to be the partisan, the  
“obsequious associate of the Holy Alliance,—  
“that mysterious alliance, of which I cannot  
“guess either the meaning or the object, which  
“can afford neither utility nor advantage. Can  
“it be directed against the Turks? It would  
“then be for the English to oppose it. Can it  
“really have for its object the maintenance of a  
“general peace? That is a chimera, by which it

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\* I have been informed that since my departure, the Emperor, reading the complaints of the Ionian Islands, and indignantly enumerating the acts of the Allies, who, while they talked loudly about morality, justice, and the independence of nations, vied with each other in appropriating to themselves the wrecks of the Great Empire, and scrupled not to parcel out millions of people, —said, “These insolent and hypocritical men, presumed, in the  
“face of the world, to declare that I was selfish, faithless, and  
“tyrannical!”

On learning the fate of unfortunate Parga, he exclaimed,  
“Parga! Parga! Certainly this act is enough to brand a man,  
“and mark his forehead for ever!”

“is impossible diplomatic cabinets can be duped.  
“With them, alliances can only be formed for the  
“purpose of opposition or counterpoise. They  
“cannot all be allied together. I cannot, there-  
“fore, comprehend this Holy Alliance, except by  
“regarding it as a league of sovereigns against  
“subjects; but, in that case, what has C . . . . .  
“ . . . . . to do with it? If it be so, will he not,  
“ought he not, one day, to pay dearly for his con-  
“duct?

“I once had Lord C . . . . . in my power,”  
said the Emperor. “He was intriguing at Chatillon,  
“when, during one of our momentary successes,  
“my troops passed beyond the seat of Congress,  
“which was, by this means, surrounded. The  
“Prime Minister of England maintained no public  
“character, and was without the law of nations.  
“He was aware of his embarrassing situation, and  
“manifested the utmost uneasiness at thus finding  
“himself in my power. I intimated to him, that  
“he might set his mind at rest, as he was at per-  
“fect liberty. I did this on my own account, and  
“not on his, for certainly I had no reason to ex-  
“pect any good from him. However, some time  
“after this, he evinced his gratitude in a very pe-  
“culiar way. When he saw me make choice of  
“the Isle of Elba, he caused England to be pro-  
“posed as my asylum, and employed all his elo-  
“quence and subtlety, to induce me to make  
“choice of that country as my place of residence.

“Now, however, I may justly entertain suspicion  
“of the offers of C . . . . ., and, doubtless, he  
“already meditated the horrible treatment which  
“he is at this moment exercising towards me!

“It was a misfortune for England, that her  
“Prime Minister treated personally with the con-  
“tinental Sovereigns: it was a violation of the  
“spirit of the British constitution. The English  
“at first felt their pride flattered, at seeing their  
“representative dictate laws to Europe; but they  
“have now abundant cause to repent, since the re-  
“sult has proved that, on the contrary, he only sti-  
“pulated for embarrassment, degradation and loss.”

“It is an undoubted fact, that C . . . . .  
“might have obtained all; while, on the contrary,  
“from blindness, incapacity, or perfidy, he sacri-  
“ficed every thing. When seated at the banquet  
“of Monarchs, he blushed to bargain for peace  
“like a merchant, and determined to treat libe-  
“rally like a lord. Thus he gained something in  
“point of vanity; and, it may be presumed, he lost  
“nothing in point of interest: his country alone  
“suffered, and will long continue to suffer.

“And the continental Sovereigns are also likely  
“to repent of having permitted their Prime Minis-  
“ters to come into personal contact with each  
“other. The result seems to have been, that these  
“Premiers have created among themselves, a sort  
“of secondary sovereignty, which they mutually  
“guarantee to each other; and, there is good rea-

“ son to suppose, it is accompanied by subsidies  
“ furnished with the knowledge of their respective  
“ Sovereigns. This business may be very easily  
“ managed ; nothing can be more simple, and, at  
“ the same time, more ingenious. In fixing the  
“ secret service money, it is very easy to mention,  
“ that such a one on the continent has been very  
“ useful, that he may still continue to be so, and,  
“ therefore, that it is proper to make an acknow-  
“ ledgment for his services. This individual, in  
“ his turn, may represent to his Government, that  
“ some man or other abroad, has rendered impor-  
“ tant services, and even compromised his own in-  
“ terests, and that consequently he should not be  
“ forgotten. It was, probably, some such arrange-  
“ ments as these, that occasioned a distinguished  
“ individual at Vienna to exclaim, in a moment of  
“ irritation, *Such a one costs me as dear as my eyes.*  
“ Doubtless, these disgraceful schemes and trans-  
“ actions will one day come to light. We shall  
“ then see what enormous fortunes have thus  
“ been squandered and swallowed up. They will  
“ perhaps hereafter be recorded in new letters of  
“ Barillon ; but nothing will be unfolded, no cha-  
“ racters will be disgraced, because contempora-  
“ ries will have anticipated all.”

After this energetic effusion, in which, I may say, I for the first time heard Napoleon express himself with such warmth and bitterness against the individuals of whom he had personally cause to

complain, he was silent for a few moments. Then resuming, he said, "And Lord C . . . . . is  
" artful enough to support himself entirely on Lord  
" W . . . . . (whom the Emperor now found  
" was included among the members of the English  
" Ministry). W . . . . . has become his  
" creature! Can it be possible, that the modern  
" Marlborough has linked himself in the train of a  
" C . . . . ., and yoked his victories to the  
" turpitude of a political mountebank? It is in-  
" conceivable! Can W . . . . . endure such a  
" thought? Has not his mind risen to a level  
" with his success? . . ."

I had remarked that, in general, the Emperor disliked to speak of Lord W . . . . . He seemed carefully to avoid pronouncing his opinion on him; feeling, no doubt, the impropriety of publicly depreciating the General who had triumphed over him. On the present occasion, however, he yielded, without reserve, to the full expression of his feelings. The consciousness of the indignities that are heaped upon him, seemed, at this moment, to rise forcibly in his mind. Though usually so calm and unresenting towards those who had done him the greatest injuries, he now evinced a degree of warmth, which I had never before witnessed in him. His gestures, his features, his tone of voice, were all expressive of the utmost indignation. I listened to him with astonishment.

"I have been told," said he, "that it is through

“ W . . . . . that I am here ; and I believe  
“ it.\* It is conduct well worthy of him, who, in  
“ defiance of a solemn capitulation, suffered Ney  
“ to perish ;—Ney, with whom he had so often  
“ been engaged on the field of battle ! For my  
“ own part, it is very certain I gave him a terrible  
“ quarter of an hour. This usually constitutes a  
“ claim on noble minds ; his was incapable of feel-  
“ ing it. My fall, and the lot that might have been  
“ reserved for me, afforded him the opportunity of  
“ reaping higher glory than he has gained by all  
“ his victories. But he did not understand this.  
“ Well, at any rate, he ought to be heartily grate-  
“ ful to old Blucher : had it not been for him, I  
“ know not where *his Grace* might have been to-  
“ day ; but I know that I, at least, should not have  
“ been at St. Helena. W . . . . .’s troops were  
“ admirable, but his plans were despicable ; or, I  
“ should rather say, that he formed none at all.  
“ He had placed himself in a situation, in which  
“ it was impossible he could form any ; and, by  
“ a curious chance, this very circumstance saved  
“ him. If he could have commenced a retreat, he  
“ must infallibly have been lost. He certainly  
“ remained master of the field of battle ; but was  
“ his success the result of his skill ? He has  
“ reaped the fruit of a brilliant victory ; but did  
“ his genius prepare it for him ? His glory is

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\* This idea again occurs in the last lines that were traced by Napoleon.



“wholly negative. His faults were enormous.  
“He, the European Generalissimo, in whose hands  
“so many interests were intrusted, and having be-  
“fore him an enemy so prompt and daring as my-  
“self, left his forces dispersed about, and slum-  
“bered in a capital until he was surprised. And  
“yet such is the power of fatality! In the course  
“of three days, I three times saw the destiny of  
“France and of Europe escape my grasp.

“In the first place, but for the treason of a  
“General, who deserted from our ranks, and be-  
“trayed my designs, I should have dispersed and  
“destroyed all the enemy’s detached parties be-  
“fore they could have combined themselves into  
“army corps.

“Next, had it not been for the unusual hesita-  
“tions of Ney at Quatre-Bras, I should have an-  
“nihilated the whole English army.

“Finally, on my right, the extraordinary ma-  
“nœuvres of Grouchy, instead of securing victory,  
“completed my ruin, and hurled France into the  
“abyss.

“No,” continued he, “W . . . . . possesses  
“only a special kind of talent: Berthier also had  
“his! In this he perhaps excels. But he has no  
“ingenuity; fortune has done more for him than  
“he has done for her. How different from Marl-  
“borough, of whom he seems to consider himself  
“as the rival and equal. Marlborough, while he  
“gained battles, ruled cabinets and guided states-

“ men ; as for W . . . . . , he has only shewn  
“ himself capable of following the views and plans  
“ of C . . . . . Madame de Stael said of  
“ him, that when out of the field of battle, he had  
“ not two ideas. The saloons of Paris, so distin-  
“ guished for delicacy and correctness of taste, at  
“ once decided that Madame de Stael was in the  
“ right ; and the French Plenipotentiary at Vienna  
“ confirmed that opinion. His victories, their re-  
“ sult, and their influence, will rise in history ; but  
“ his name will fall, even during his lifetime.”

Alluding to ministries in general, but particularly to collective ministries, the intrigues, the great and petty passions that agitate the men who compose them, the Emperor said, “ After all, they  
“ are only so many plagues. No one escapes the  
“ contagion. A man may be honest when he en-  
“ ters a ministry ; but it seldom happens that he  
“ retires from one, without having forfeited his  
“ purity of character. I may perhaps except only  
“ two : mine, and that of the United States. Mine,  
“ because my Ministers were merely my men of  
“ business, and I alone stood responsible ; and  
“ that of the United States, because there, Minis-  
“ ters are men of public credit, always upright,  
“ always vigilant, and always rigid.” He concluded with the following remarkable words :—

“ I believe that no Sovereign was ever sur-  
“ rounded by more faithful servants than I was  
“ towards the close of my reign. And if I did not

“obtain due credit for the selection I had made, it  
“was because the French are too apt to murmur  
“incessantly.” He then took a review of his  
principal Ministers, numbering them by his fingers.

“My two great dignitaries,” said he, “Cambacérès and Lebrun, were distinguished men, and  
“perfectly well disposed.

“Bassano and Caulincourt, two men remarkable  
“for sincerity and rectitude. Molé, whose name  
“reflects honour on the French Magistracy, is prob-  
“ably destined to act a part in future ministries.

“Montalivet was an honest man; the ministry  
“of Decrès was pure and rigorous; Gaudin was dis-  
“tinguished for steady and well directed labour;  
“Mollien possessed vast perspicuity and prompti-  
“tude; and all my Counsellors of State were pru-  
“dent and assiduous! All these names will re-  
“main inseparably connected with mine. What  
“country, what age, ever presented a better com-  
“posed, or more moral Ministry? Happy the  
“nation that possesses such instruments, and  
“knows how to turn them to good account! . . .  
“Though I was not given to praise, and though  
“my approbation was in general purely negative,  
“yet, I nevertheless fully appreciated the value  
“of those who served me, and who have everlast-  
“ing claims on my gratitude. Their number is  
“immense, and the most modest are not the least  
“meritorious. I shall not attempt to name them,  
“because many would have to complain of

“having been omitted, and such omission might appear like ingratitude on my part!”

*The Generals of the Army of Italy.*—*Napoleon the adopted Father of one of his Aides-de-camp.*—*Scandalous Novel.*—*Napoleon's Dislike of Gaming.*—*The La Rochefoucault Family, &c.*

17th.—The Emperor was unwell, and saw nobody during the whole of the day. In the evening he sent for me. I expressed myself very much concerned for the state of his health; but he assured me that he was more indisposed in mind than in body. He began to converse on a variety of subjects, and this seemed to rouse his spirits.

He once more took a review of the Generals of the army of Italy, describing their characters, and quoting many anecdotes respecting them. He spoke of the selfishness of one, of the false pretensions of another, the folly of a third, the depredations committed by some, the good qualities of others, and the important services rendered by all. He dwelt particularly on one, to whom he had been much attached, and whose defection, he said, had proved a severe wound to his heart. The Emperor remarked, that from what he knew of that individual, he was sure he must occasionally suffer deeply from remorse. “Never,” observed he, “was defection more fatal, or more decidedly avowed. It was recorded in the *Moniteur*, and by his own hand. It was the immediate cause of

“our disasters, the grave of our power, the cloud of our glory. And yet,” added he, in a tone of affection, “I am convinced his sentiments are better than his reputation; his heart is superior to his conduct. Of this, he himself appears to be conscious. The newspapers inform us, that when soliciting vainly for the pardon of Lavalette, he exclaimed, with warmth, in reply to the obstacles urged by the Monarch, *Sire, have I not given you more than life?* We were, it is true,” said the Emperor, “betrayed by others, and in a manner still more vile; but no other act of apostasy was so solemnly recorded by official documents.”

The Emperor observed, that at an early period of life, he had acted the part of a father to the General above alluded to, who could not enter the royal corps of artillery, and had been obliged to join a provincial regiment. “He was,” said the Emperor, “the nephew of one of my comrades at the school of Brienne, and in the regiment of La Fère, who, when he emigrated from France, recommended his young relation to my care. This circumstance imposed upon me the obligation of acting the part of his uncle and his father, which I literally did. I took real interest in his welfare, and felt a pleasure in advancing his fortune. His father was a knight of St. Louis, the proprietor of some iron works in Burgundy, and a man of considerable fortune.”

Napoleon mentioned that in 1794, as he was returning from the army of Nice to Paris, he visited the father's *chateau*, where he was magnificently treated, as he was already beginning to enjoy a certain degree of reputation. The father, according to the son's account, was an absolute miser. However, he determined to give a handsome reception to the guest who had been so kind to his son. His entertainment was distinguished by all the ostentation which misers are fond of displaying. He exhibited complete prodigality. It was in July or August, and he ordered immense fires to be kindled in all the apartments. "This," said the Emperor, "would have been an incident " for Moliere."

Speaking of the manners of Paris, and its immense population, the Emperor adverted to the many evils which he said must inevitably exist in all great capitals, where depravity of every kind is continually stimulated by want, passion, wit, and the facilities afforded by bustle and confusion. He often repeated, that all capitals were so many Babylons. He adduced several proofs of odious libertinism with respect to Paris; and he mentioned, that after he became Emperor, he had perused the most scandalous book that was ever conceived by the most depraved imagination. It was a novel, which, even in the time of the Convention, had proved so offensive to public morals, as to occasion the imprisonment of its author, who

had continued in confinement ever since, and whom the Emperor believed was still living. I have forgotten the name of the writer, and it was the first time I had ever heard the production mentioned.

The Emperor said, he had endeavoured, as far as circumstances permitted, to suppress many sources of immorality; but in some instances, he had not had courage to descend into details. For example, he prohibited masked gaming, and even had it in view to prohibit all gaming houses; but when I wished to have the subject thoroughly discussed in my presence, it proved to be a very difficult question. I mentioned, that the police had even prohibited us from playing privately in one of the principal houses of the Faubourg St. Germain. The Emperor observed, that he had had no idea of this act of tyranny; and yet, as I assured him, it was exercised by Fouché in his name. "That may be," said he, "but I knew nothing of it; and so it was with all the details of the police, high, middling, and low.

He then questioned me respecting the kind of gaming to which I had just alluded; and observing that in my replies, I always used the plural *we*, he interrupted me, saying,—“Were you yourself one of the party? Were you a gamester?”—“Alas! Sire, I unfortunately was. Only by fifths and long intervals, it is true. But still, when the fit seized me, it urged me to excess.”—

“ I am very glad I knew nothing of it at the time,” said the Emperor, “ otherwise you would have been “ ruined in my esteem. This circumstance shews “ how little we knew of each other, and it also proves “ that you could not have made yourself many “ enemies; for there were charitable souls about “ me who would have taken care to inform me of “ your failing. My prejudice against gaming was “ well known. A gamester was sure to forfeit my “ confidence. I had not leisure to inquire whether “ I was right or wrong; but, whenever I heard “ that a man was addicted to gaming, I placed “ no more reliance on him.”

This allusion to the Faubourg St. Germain, led us to mention many of the principal names in the capital. The Emperor made some remarks on the different members of the family of La Rochefoucault. He mentioned the lady of honour to the Empress Josephine; her husband, who was ambassador to Vienna and Holland; her brother, the member of the Legislative Body; their father, M. de Liancourt, whom he highly respected; and finally, the daughter whom he had given in marriage to Prince Aldobrandini, brother to Prince Borghese. He repeated, that he had once entertained the idea of making her the wife of Ferdinand VII. He also mentioned another M. de la Rochefoucault, who died in prison at the commencement of his reign, and he asked me what relation he was to the others. I could not inform him. I knew no-



thing either of the person or the circumstance mentioned by the Emperor.

“He was,” said Napoleon, “the author of a conspiracy against my person, which I never mentioned to you: it just now occurs to my recollection.

“This M. de la Rochefoucault formed in Paris, in the interest of the King, who was then at Mittau, a conspiracy, the first stroke of which was to be the death of the head of the Government. M. de la Rochefoucault ended his days in prison, after a long confinement. Some one having procured a knowledge of this affair, a confidential agent of the police, pretended to enter into the conspiracy, and to become one of its most active members. He received his credentials at a *chateau* in Lorraine, from an old gentleman, who had held a distinguished rank in the army of Condé, and who had been enabled to return to France by the amnesty of the First Consul. This gentleman, who, to do him justice, was a very worthy man, was appointed to accredit the members of the conspiracy, and to afford them the necessary facilities for gaining access to Louis XVIII. at Mittau. He had evinced great repugnance on entering into the conspiracy. He said it was now too late to think of such enterprises, as France was beginning to enjoy repose. He solemnly declared his disapproval of any violence being offered to the First Consul, whom he now looked upon as something sa-

“ cred. After having several interviews with Louis XVIII. at Mittau, the police agent returned with a knowledge of the whole affair. M. de la Rochefoucault and his party were arrested. If they had but known who disclosed their plot!”

*Poniatowski the real King of Poland.—Characteristic Anecdotes of Napoleon.*

18th, 19th.—The conversation turned on Poland, roused as she had been at the voice of Napoleon. We spoke of the individuals who seemed to have been destined to ascend the throne of that country: each made his own conjectures on this subject. The Emperor remained silent for some time, and at length interrupted us, saying:—“ Poniatowski was the real King of Poland. He possessed every quality requisite for that high station.” He, however, put a period to his own life.

At another moment, the Emperor smiled at the pains that had been taken to obliterate the emblems and devices that appeared on the public monuments which he had created. “ They may,” said he, “ be withdrawn from the public eye; but they cannot be erased from the page of history, or from the recollection of connoisseurs and artists. I acted differently,” added he; “ I respected all the vestiges of royalty that existed when I came into power. I even restored the *fleur-de-lis*; and other royal emblems, when chronological correctness required it.”

An individual present remarked, that Prince Lucien had manifested precisely the same sentiments. The Palais Royal was assigned as his place of residence on the Emperor's return in 1815, and observing, as he ascended the staircase, the groupes of *fleurs-de-lis* on the tapestry that overhung the walls, he said to the officer who attended him: "This will all be taken down I presume?"—"Why, Monseigneur?"—"Because these are the devices of the enemy."—"Well! Monseigneur, why should they not remain as our trophies?"—"You are right," replied the Prince, "this is exactly my way of viewing the matter."

To-day, I have been able to collect but little from the Emperor's conversation. . . . I shall, therefore, fill up this void, and that of the succeeding day, by inserting some anecdotes which I find in scattered memoranda on the cover of my ordinary Journal: for here I noted down such particulars as I found I had forgotten to insert in their proper place, together with any old reminiscences that happened to occur to me, or delicate points which, in our state of captivity, required to be treated with prudence and circumspection. These notes also contain many facts, which have been subsequently collected from unquestionable sources.

Many of these articles have no relation to each other; but, they are all connected with the object of the present work, whether they serve to prove

the false colours in which Napoleon has been painted, or whether, on the contrary, they develop the real traits of his character. May the perusal of this Journal induce those who have approached the Emperor, to record on their parts all they know, or have heard respecting him.

Formerly, a great deal was said about the excessive severity and violence exercised by the Emperor towards the individuals about his person. Now, however, it is acknowledged, that every one who served him adored him, precisely for his kindness of heart and manners. Since my return to Europe, a gentleman of high rank, whose name alone would be sufficient to command credit, and whose high functions kept him constantly about the person of the Emperor, in foreign expeditions, as well as in the interior of the palace, has assured me, that he never in his life knew Napoleon to strike a servant, except on one occasion. This was when one of his grooms, at the retreat of Saint Jean d'Acre, refused to give up his horse for the transport of the invalids, while he, the General-in-Chief, had surrendered up his, and had obliged all his staff to do so likewise. But, after all, added my informant, it was easy to perceive that this act was prompted by policy, rather than by natural severity of temper: the scene took place in the presence of dispirited troops, to whom it was necessary to give proofs of the lively interest that was felt for them.

It used to be a common remark, that Napoleon was no less morose to the individuals of his court, than to those in his service ; and that he never had any thing complimentary or agreeable to say to any one. Among the multitude of facts that might be adduced in contradiction to this assertion, I will mention the following, to which I was myself a witness. On his return from the disastrous campaign of Leipsic, the Emperor received the officers of his household at an unusual hour. He presented himself to us with an air of melancholy. Stepping up to the individual who was next me, (M. de Beauveau, I think,) whose son, yet a youth, had served in the campaign, in the guard of honour, or some other corps, Napoleon said to him : “ Your son’s conduct has been admirable. He “ has conferred honour on his name. He has been “ wounded ; but what of that ? He may proudly “ boast of having thus early shed his blood for his “ country.”

At the same period, at one of his levees, after giving some orders to General Gerard, whose reputation was then beginning to attract attention, the Emperor concluded with some words evidently kindly meant, though somewhat obscure. After advancing a few paces to continue his circuit, he turned back to General Gerard, apparently having read in his countenance, that he had not precisely understood him, and he said very distinctly : “ I “ observed, that if I had many men like you, I

“ should consider all my losses repaired, and  
“ should think myself master of my fortune.”

About the same period I had an opportunity of witnessing a proof of the ascendancy which the Emperor could exercise over the human mind, and the sort of veneration with which he was regarded. A General, whose name I do not know, and who had been severely wounded in the leg, attended the Emperor's levee. Napoleon had been informed that amputation was pronounced to be absolutely indispensable, but that the unfortunate officer obstinately refused to submit to it. “ Why do you object to an operation that will preserve your life?” said Napoleon: “ It cannot be want of courage, since you have so often braved danger on the field of battle! Is it contempt of life? But does not your heart tell you, that even with the remaining limb, you may be useful to your country, and render her signal services?” The officer was silent; the expression of his countenance was calm and placid, but still negative. The Emperor seemed sorry for him, and passed on to speak to some other persons, when the officer, who had apparently formed a sudden resolution, turned to the Emperor, saying, “ Sire, if your Majesty orders me to submit to the operation, I will immediately do so.”—“ My dear Sir,” replied the Emperor, “ I have no power to do that. I wished to move you by persuasion; but heaven forbid I should command you!” I think I have heard

it said, that on leaving the palace, the wounded officer submitted to the operation.

The Emperor, on his return from the Isle of Elba, arrived at the Tuileries very late in the evening. His levee on the following day, was, as may be supposed, exceedingly numerous. When the door was thrown open, and he presented himself before us, it would be difficult for me to explain what were my ideas and sensations. The Emperor appeared the same as usual ; just as though he had never left the palace, and had held a levee but yesterday ; his countenance, attitude, dress, manners, all were unaltered. I was powerfully affected, and I believe my sensations were shared by all present. The force of sentiment prevailed over respect ; and all rushed forward to meet him. The Emperor himself was visibly moved ; and he embraced several of the most distinguished persons. He then commenced his circuit as usual. His voice was mild, his countenance placid, and his manner affable : he spoke with kindness to every one. "How!" said he, addressing a certain individual, in a mingled tone of pleasantry and affection, "do I see "the Major-General of the white army within "two paces of me?" Several of the individuals present seemed to be labouring under a little embarrassment, owing to the extraordinary events that had just taken place ; as for Napoleon, he appeared as though nothing had happened. He did

not forget that he had freed them all from their allegiance at Fontainebleau.

The following anecdotes prove his correctness of judgment, and coolness of temper. They also shew, that when at the summit of his power, his moderation and equity were never shaken, even in matters most directly personal, and on subjects on which he might have been presumed to be most delicate and susceptible.

When Moreau was arrested on the charge of being concerned in the affair of Georges and Pichegru, one of the First Consul's Aides-de-camp, who was, perhaps, also the Aide-de-camp of Moreau, or had served under his command, visited him in prison, and evinced great interest for him. "This is all very natural," said Napoleon, on being informed of the circumstance, "I certainly cannot blame such conduct; but I must appoint another Aide-de-camp. The post is one of perfect confidence and fidelity: there can be no division in an affair so personal as this." Napoleon gave the command of a regiment to this Aide-de-camp (Col. Lacuée), who, some time after, perished at the head of his regiment, in one of the engagements which preceded the capitulation of Ulm.

About the same period, the Prefect of Liege, equally remarkable for his administrative talents and excellent character, was suddenly summoned to Paris; and he hastened thither, pleased with the



anticipation of the proofs of satisfaction which he trusted he should receive, because he deserved them. He was, however, invited by the Grand Judge to visit him before he should present himself to the First Consul ; and he found himself unexpectedly interrogated, *ex officio*, on the subject of a letter that was presented to him. At first he could not deny the signature, so accurately had his own been imitated ; but he positively disavowed the sentiments it contained. It consisted of a justification of Moreau, and was filled with imprecations against the Consul. The whole was an infamous plot, contrived by a high public functionary, an enemy of the Prefect, for the purpose of ruining him. The Prefect having proved that he knew nothing of the letter attributed to him, appeared at the First Consul's grand audience. Napoleon treated him with particular attention, and when he took his leave, he said to him, "Return  
"and resume your functions, which you know so  
"well how to fulfil. You carry with you my ut-  
"most esteem. Let this public testimony of your  
"good conduct console you for the painful feel-  
"ings that calumny and falsehood may have occa-  
"sioned to you."

The following will shew that Napoleon was not inclined hastily to condemn a certain degree of independence, even though it might be somewhat unreasonable :—

M. de Montalivet, who was Minister of the In-

terior during the Empire, has informed me, that being one day left alone with the Emperor, after a Council of Ministers, he thus addressed him :—

“ Sire, it is not without considerable embarrassment  
“ that I presume to mention to your Majesty a cir-  
“ cumstance which is certainly extremely ridicu-  
“ lous ; but a Prefect, a young Auditor, obstinately  
“ persists in withholding from me the title which  
“ custom has assigned to all your Ministers. Some  
“ persons, holding inferior situations in my depart-  
“ ment, observing that he never used the custo-  
“ mary title of Monseigneur in speaking of me,  
“ and thinking it an instance of affectation, very  
“ absurdly required him, in my name, to observe  
“ the formality ; and he peremptorily refused. I  
“ am quite ashamed that this affair should have  
“ risen up ; but as it is, the thing has been carried  
“ to a point at which I cannot yield.” At first, the  
Emperor could scarcely credit such obstinacy  
and folly on the part of the Prefect. After a  
short pause, he said to M. de Montalivet, smiling,  
“ But after all, there is no such obligation specified  
“ in the Code. The young man is perhaps good  
“ fruit, though not yet ripe. However, this refrac-  
“ tory conduct must be checked. Desire his father  
“ to come to me ; surely the young man will not  
“ disobey his orders.” What a delicate, moral  
sentiment was thus conveyed.

On the evening of the 20th of March, the Emperor had no sooner entered his apartments in the

Tuileries, than the Captain of Dragoons, G. D . . . . . appeared before him. He was the bearer of the capitulation of Vincennes, which had just been obtained by dint of extraordinary courage and address. Napoleon at first smiled at the details that were communicated to him ; but being struck with the vehement manner and language of the narrator, and suddenly calling to mind the fate of Governor Puyvert at Vincennes, he hastily exclaimed, " But, Sir, you say nothing of the Governor ; what has become of him ?—" " Sire," resumed the officer, in a calmer tone, " he has been furnished with a passport, and has been escorted out of Paris." Napoleon then advanced, and seizing the officer's hand, with an expression that sufficiently betrayed the anxiety with which he had just been agitated, " I am satisfied," said he ; " you have done well, very well !"

I find, in one of my notes, that the Emperor once remarked, that the finest military letter he had ever read, was one written during the Consulate, by a soldier of the south, named Leon. From this high praise, it must of course be presumed, that the letter was a very extraordinary one. I myself know nothing of it ; but I merely mention the circumstance, in the hope that some one may be induced to lay the document before the public, in case it should not be already upon record.

Napoleon, during his military career, fought sixty battles ; Cæsar fought but fifty.

It was asked one day, in Napoleon's presence, how it happened that misfortunes that were yet uncertain, often distressed us more than miseries that had already been suffered. "Because," observed the Emperor, "in the imagination, as in calculation, the power of what is unknown is *"incommensurable."*

After having given any one an important mission, or traced out the plan of any great enterprise, the Emperor used frequently to say, "Come, Sir, be speedy; use despatch; and do not forget that the world was created in six days."

On an occasion of this kind, he concluded by observing to the individual whom he was addressing, "Ask me for whatever you please, except *"time"*: that's the only thing that is beyond my power."

On another occasion, Napoleon commissioned a person to execute some important business, which he expected would be finished in the course of the same day. It was not, however, completed until late on the following day. At this, the Emperor manifested some degree of dissatisfaction; and the individual, in the hope of excusing himself, said that he had worked all day. "But had you not the night also?" replied Napoleon.

The Emperor directed particular attention to the improvement and embellishment of the markets of the capital. He used to say, "The market-place is the Louvre of the common people."

Equality of rights, that is to say, the power of aspiring and obtaining, enjoyed by all individuals, was one of the points to which Napoleon attached particular importance. This regard for equality, was one of his peculiar traits, and seemed to belong innately to his character. "I have not reigned  
"all my life," he would say: "before I became a  
"Sovereign, I recollect having been a subject;  
"and I can never forget how powerfully the senti  
"ment of equality influences the mind, and ani-  
"mates the heart."

When he was once suggesting a law project, to be drawn up by one of his Counsellors of State, he said, "Let me charge you to respect liberty;  
"and above all, equality. With regard to liberty,  
"it might be possible to restrain it, in a case of  
"extremity; circumstances might demand and  
"justify such a step: but heaven forbid that we  
"should ever infringe upon equality! It is the  
"passion of the age; and I wish to continue to be  
"the man of the age!"

In Napoleon's eyes, merit was single, by itself, and he recompensed it uniformly. Thus the same titles, and the same decorations, were awarded equally to the ecclesiastic, the soldier, the artist, the philosopher, and the man of letters. It may truly be said, that in no other country or period was merit more highly honoured, or talent more magnificently rewarded. On these points, the Emperor's views were unlimited. I have already

mentioned that he one day said, "*If Corneille had lived in my time, I would have made him a prince.*"

The Emperor said one day at St. Helena, "Nature seems to have calculated that I should have to endure great reverses; for she has given me a mind of marble. Thunder cannot ruffle it; the shaft merely glides along."

At another time, when some vexation arose at St. Helena, an individual, who was near Napoleon at the time, exclaimed, "Ah, Sire, this must indeed increase your hatred of the English." Upon which the Emperor, shrugging up his shoulders, said, in a mingled tone of pleasantry and contempt, "Prejudiced man! Say rather that at most it may increase my hatred of this or that particular Englishman. . . . But since we are on this subject, let me tell you that a man, he who has the true feelings of a man, never cherishes hatred. His anger or ill humour never goes beyond the irritation of the moment,—the electrical stroke. He who is formed to discharge high duties, and to exercise authority, never considers persons; his views are directed to things, their weight and consequence."

On a certain occasion, he remarked that he doubted not but his character would gain in proportion as it advanced in posterity; and that future historians would conceive themselves bound to avenge the injustice of contemporaries. Excess is

always succeeded by reaction. Besides, he was of opinion that when viewed from a distance, his character would appear in a more favourable light, by being relieved from many useless encumbrances. He would hereafter be judged by general views, and not by petty details. Every thing would be in harmony, and all local irregularities would disappear. Above all, he would not be compared with himself; but with what might exist at a future period. He added, that now, as hereafter, he could proudly submit every act of his private life to the most rigid scrutiny, confident that the severest judges would pronounce him to be free of crime.

The Emperor one day told me that he had conceived the idea of composing his *Diplomatic History*, or a complete account of his negotiations, from Campo Formio to his abdication. If he should have fulfilled his design, what an historical treasure will thus be presented to the world!

Speaking of military eloquence, the Emperor said, "When, in the heat of the battle, passing along the line, I used to exclaim, 'Soldiers, unfurl your banners, the moment is come,' our Frenchmen absolutely leapt for joy. I saw them multiply a hundred fold. I then thought nothing impossible."

Many of Napoleon's military harangues are well known. The following has been communicated to me by an individual who heard it on the spot.

When reviewing the 2d regiment of horse chasseurs at Lobenstein, two days before the battle of Jena, Napoleon addressing the Colonel, said: "How many men are there here?"—"Five hundred," replied the Colonel; "but there are many raw troops among them."—"What signifies that," said the Emperor, in a tone which denoted surprise at the observation, "are they not all Frenchmen?"—Then turning to the regiment, "My lads," said he, "you must not fear death. When soldiers brave death, they drive him into the enemy's ranks." He here made a motion with his arm expressive of the action to which he alluded. At these words a sudden movement among the troops accompanied by a murmur of enthusiasm, seemed to foretel the memorable victory of Rosbach, which took place forty-eight hours after.

At the battle of Lutzen the army was chiefly composed of conscripts, who had never been in any engagement. It is said that in the heat of the action, Napoleon rode along the rear of the 3d rank of infantry, supporting and encouraging the young troops. "This is nothing, my lads," said he, "stand firm. France has her eye on you. Shew that you can die for your country."

Napoleon entertained a high regard for the Germans. "I levied many millions of imposts on them, it is true," said he, "that was necessary; but I should never have insulted them or treated



“them with contempt. I esteemed the Germans.  
“They may hate me; that is natural enough. I  
“was forced for ten years to fight over the dead  
“bodies of their countrymen. They could not  
“know my real designs or give me credit for my  
“ultimate intentions, which were calculated to  
“render Germany a great nation.”

The Emperor, alluding to one of his decisions, remarked:—“I could do nothing in that case, I  
“suffered myself to be moved, and I yielded.  
“There I was wrong: a statesman’s heart should  
“be in his head.”

Napoleon observed that the physical faculties of men were strengthened by their dangers or wants: “Thus,” said he, “the Bedouin of the desert has  
“the piercing sight of the lynx; and the savage  
“of the forest has the keen scent of wild  
“animals.”

One day mention was made of an individual who, though distinguished for his ideas and his acts, nevertheless betrayed gross faults in his manners and mode of expressing himself. The Emperor explained this discordance by saying: “You see the  
“fault is in his first education; his swaddling  
“clothes have been neither fine nor clean.”

When speaking of the danger he had incurred among the Five Hundred, on the 18th Brumaire, he attributed it militarily to local circumstances. He had been obliged to enter the Orangery at one of the extremities, and to pass along the whole length of it:

"The misfortune was," said he, "that instead of facing my opponents, I was compelled to present my flank to them."

When we were alluding to an individual who seemed to think he could overawe us by speaking almost in the tone and language of menace, the Emperor said: "This is a very absurd idea. Nobody is afraid now. A child would not be afraid. Even little Emmanuel, (pointing to my son) would exchange pistol shots with any one who might require him to do so." These words of the Emperor, will probably influence my son throughout the rest of his life.

Napoleon, on his return from the Russian campaign, was so struck by the courage and strength of mind displayed by Ney, that he created him Prince of the Moskowa, and he was often heard to say: "I have two hundred millions in my coffers, and I would give them all for Ney."

Remarking on the certainty of the ultimate triumph of modern principles, the Emperor said: "They cannot but triumph. Mark the train of events: even oppression now-a-days, turns to the disadvantage of the oppressor."

On a certain occasion it was observed to the Emperor, that he was not fond of setting forward his own merits: "That is," replied he "because with me morality and generosity are not in my mouth, but in my nerves. My hand of iron was not at the extremity of my arm, it was imme-

“diately connected with my head. I did not receive it from nature; calculation alone has enabled me to employ it.”

†. Speaking of the ill humour and discontent frequently evinced by the inhabitants of Paris, the Emperor asked what he was expected to do after all he had accomplished. “Sire,” said some one present, “it was wished that your Majesty should stop your horse.” “Stop my horse!” resumed Napoleon, “that was easily said. My arm was strong enough, it is true, to stop with a single check, all the horses of the continent. But I could not bridle the English fleets: and there lay all the mischief. Had not the people sense enough to see this?”

One day when the Emperor was reproaching an individual for not correcting the vices which he knew he possessed, “Sir,” said he, “when a man knows his moral infirmity, he may cure his mind, just as he would cure his arm or his leg.”

The Emperor, speaking of the nobility which he had created, regretted that it had been so ill understood. It was, he said, one of his grandest and happiest ideas. He had in view three objects of the highest importance, and all three would have been accomplished: 1st, to reconcile France with Europe, and to restore harmony, by seeming to adopt European customs; 2d, by the same means to bring about a complete reconciliation and union between old and new France; and 3d,

to banish feudal nobility, the only kind that is offensive, oppressive and unnatural. "By my plan," said the Emperor, "I should soon have succeeded in substituting positive and meritorious qualities for antiquated and odious prejudices. My national titles would have exactly restored that equality which feudal nobility proscribed. They were conferred as the reward of merit of every kind. For genealogical parchments I substituted noble actions, and for private interests, the interests of the country. Family pride would no longer have been founded on obscure and imaginary circumstances, but would have rested on the noblest pages of our history. Finally I would have banished the odious pretension of blood; an absurd idea, a theory that has no real existence; for we all know very well that there is but one race of men, and that one is not born with boots on his legs, and another with a pack saddle on his back.

"All the nobility in Europe, those who really govern it, were pleased with my plan. They unanimously applauded an institution, the novelty of which enhanced its pre-eminence; and yet this very novelty would have sapped its foundation, and infallibly have destroyed it. Why did that opinion, to which I had secured a triumph, precisely serve the purpose of its enemies? But I have suffered this misfortune oftener than once."

*On the Difficulties which History presents.— Georges, Pichegru, Moreau, the Duke d'Enghien.*

20th.—“ It must be admitted, my dear Las Cases,” said the Emperor to me to-day, “ it is “ most difficult to obtain absolute certainties “ for the purposes of history. Fortunately it “ is, in general, more a matter of mere curiosity “ than of real importance. There are so many “ kinds of truths! The truth which Fouché, “ or other intriguers of his stamp, will tell, for “ instance; even that which many very honest “ people may tell, will, in some cases, differ essen- “ tially from the truth which I may relate. The “ truth of history, so much in request, to which every “ body eagerly appeals, is too often but a word. “ At the time of the events, during the heat of “ conflicting passions, it cannot exist; and if, at a “ later period, all parties are agreed respecting it, “ it is because those persons who were interested “ in the events, those who might be able to con- “ tradict what is asserted, are no more. What “ then is, generally speaking, the truth of history? “ A fable agreed upon. As it has been very inge- “ niously remarked, there are, in these matters, “ two essential points, very distinct from each “ other: the positive facts, and the moral inten- “ tions. With respect to the positive facts, it “ would seem that they ought to be incontrovert-

“ible; yet you will not find two accounts agreeing  
“together in relating the same fact: some have  
“remained contested points to this day, and will  
“ever remain so. With regard to moral inten-  
“tions, how shall we judge of them, even admit-  
“ting the candour of those who relate events?  
“And what will be the case if the narrators be  
“not sincere, or if they should be actuated by  
“interest or passions? I have given an order, but  
“who was able to read my thoughts, my real  
“intentions? Yet every one will take up that  
“order, and measure it according to his own scale,  
“or adapt it to his own plans or system. See the  
“different colourings that will be given to it by  
“the intriguer, whose plans it disturbs or favours:  
“see how he will distort it. The man who  
“assumes importance, to whom the ministers  
“or the sovereign may have hinted something in  
“confidence on the subject, will do the same  
“thing; as will the numerous idlers of the pa-  
“lace, who, having nothing better to do than to  
“listen under windows, and invent when they  
“have not heard. And each person will be so  
“certain of what he tells! and the inferior classes  
“of people, who will have received their infor-  
“mation from these privileged individuals, will  
“be so certain, in their turn, of its correctness?  
“and then memoirs are digested, memoranda are  
“written, witticisms and anecdotes are circulated;  
“and of such materials is history composed!

“ I have seen the plan of my own battle, the  
“ intention of my own orders disputed with me,  
“ and opinion decide against me! Is not that the  
“ creature giving the lie to its creator? Never-  
“ theless, my opponent, who contradicts me, will  
“ have his adherents. This it is which has prevented  
“ me from writing my own private memoirs, from  
“ disclosing my individual feelings, which would,  
“ naturally, have exhibited the shades of my private  
“ character. I could not condescend to write  
“ confessions, after the manner of Jean Jaques  
“ Rousseau, which every body might have attacked;  
“ and, therefore, I have thought proper to confine  
“ the subjects of my dictations here to public acts.  
“ I am aware that even these relations may be con-  
“ tested ; for where is the man in this world, what-  
“ ever be his right, and the strength and power of  
“ that right, who may not be attacked and contra-  
“ dicted by an adverse party? But in the eyes of  
“ those men who are wise and impartial, of those  
“ who reflect and are reasonable, my voice, after  
“ all, will be as good as another’s ; and I have little  
“ dread of the final decision. So much light has been  
“ diffused in our days, that I rely upon the splen-  
“ dour that will remain after passions shall have  
“ subsided, and clouds have passed away. But, in  
“ the mean time, how many errors will arise!  
“ People will often give me credit for a great deal  
“ of depth and sagacity on occasions which were,  
“ perhaps, most simple in themselves ; I shall be

“suspected of plans which I never formed.\* It  
 “will be inquired whether I did or did not aspire,  
 “in reality, to universal dominion. The ques-  
 “tion will be argued, at length, whether my  
 “absolute sway and my arbitrary acts were the  
 “result of my character or of my calculations ;  
 “whether they were determined by my own incli-  
 “nation or by the influence of circumstances ;  
 “whether I was led into the wars in which I was  
 “constantly engaged, by my own taste, or against  
 “my will ; whether my insatiable ambition, which  
 “has been so much deprecated, was kindled by the  
 “thirst for dominion and glory, or by my love of  
 “order and my concern for the general welfare ;  
 “for that ambition will deserve to be considered  
 “under all those different aspects. People will  
 “canvass the motives which guided me in the  
 “catastrophe of the Duke d’Enghein,† and so on  
 “with respect to many other events. Sometimes

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\* A man of great understanding and information, who had  
 enjoyed much of the Emperor’s confidence, and had had  
 a great deal to do with the Emperor directly, said to me, after  
 the first abdication, with the appearance of intimate conviction,  
 that Napoleon’s plan had been to abandon Paris, after he should  
 have completed his conquests, and to make Rome the capital  
 of the Empire. I had, at that time, so little knowledge of the  
 Emperor, that this intelligence staggered me ; but now I cannot  
 help inquiring where my historian could have got this idea ?

† It is well known to how many different versions, to how  
 many various conjectures, this sad event gave rise.



“ they will distort what was perfectly straight, and  
“ refine upon what was quite natural. It was not  
“ for me to treat upon all those subjects here: it  
“ would have appeared as if I were pleading my  
“ cause—and that I disdain to do. If the rectitude  
“ and the sagacity of historians can enable them  
“ to form, from what I have dictated on general  
“ matters, a correct opinion and just notions re-  
“ specting those things which I have not men-  
“ tioned, so much the better. But along with the  
“ faint ray thus afforded, how many false lights  
“ will appear to them! From the fables and false-  
“ hoods of the great intriguers, (who all had their  
“ views, their plots, their private negotiations,  
“ which, being mixed up with the main objects,  
“ tend to render the whole an inextricable chaos,)  
“ to the disclosures, *the portfolios*, and even the  
“ assertions of my ministers, who, with the best  
“ intentions, will have to state not so much what  
“ really existed, as what they believe to have  
“ existed; for which of them ever possessed the  
“ entire general conception of my mind? Their  
“ share of it was, most frequently, one of the ele-  
“ ments of a great whole, which they did not  
“ know. They will, therefore, only have seen that  
“ side of the prism which concerned them; and,  
“ even then, how will they have seen it? Did it  
“ reach them entire? Was it not already broken?  
“ And yet probably every one of them, judging

“ from what he has seen, will give the fantastical  
“ result of his own combinations as my true  
“ system ; and here again we have the admitted  
“ fable, which will be called history. Nor can it  
“ be otherwise. It is true that as there are many,  
“ they will be far from agreeing together. How-  
“ ever in their positive assertions they would have  
“ the advantage over me : for I should very fre-  
“ quently have found it most difficult to affirm  
“ confidently, what had been my whole and entire  
“ thoughts on any given subject. It is well known  
“ that I did not strive to subject circumstances to  
“ my ideas ; but that I in general suffered myself  
“ on the contrary to be led by them ; and who can  
“ calculate beforehand the chances of accidental  
“ circumstances or unexpected events ? I have,  
“ therefore, often found it necessary to alter essen-  
“ tially my plan of proceeding, and have acted  
“ through life upon general principles, rather than  
“ according to fixed plans. The mass of the general  
“ interests of mankind, what I considered to be  
“ the advantage of the greater number, such were  
“ the anchors on which I relied, but around  
“ which I most frequently floated at the caprice of  
“ chance,” &c. &c.

After these memorable expressions, the present is the best opportunity of returning to an historical point which I have long since promised to treat upon, (See Part I.) and which

ought to have found a place long before this; I allude to the conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru, and the trial of the Duke d'Enghien. I shall presently state the true reasons of this transposition, and of the long delay that has occurred.

"War," said the Emperor, "had some time since recommenced with England, when suddenly our coasts, our high roads, and the capital, were inundated with agents from the Bourbons. A great number of them were arrested; but their plans could not yet be discovered. They were of all ranks and descriptions. All the passions were roused, the agitation of the public became extreme; a storm was gathering; the crisis assumed the most alarming aspect; the agents of the police had exhausted all their means, without being able to obtain any information. My own sagacity saved me," observed Napoleon. "Having risen on one occasion in the night, to work, as I used frequently to do, *chance, which governs the world*, directed my eyes to one of the last reports of the police, containing the names of those persons who had already been arrested in consequence of this affair, to which no clew had yet been obtained. Amongst those names I observed that of a surgeon in the army; I immediately concluded that such a man must be an intriguer rather than a devoted fanatic, and I ordered every measure likely to extort a prompt confession to be instantly resorted to

“against him. The affair was immediately placed  
“in the hands of a military commission; in the  
“morning he was sentenced, and threatened with  
“immediate execution if he did not speak. Half  
“an hour afterwards he had disclosed every thing,  
“even to the most minute details. The nature  
“and the extent of the plot, which had been got  
“up in London, was then known, and the in-  
“trigues of Moreau, and the presence of Pichegru  
“in Paris, &c. &c. were discovered soon after.”

I omit all the details of that affair; they may be seen in the letters written from the Cape, in refutation of those of Dr. Warden, and in the work of Mr. O'Meara. The particulars which I should relate, would be precisely the same as those contained in the work last mentioned; they are derived from the same source. With respect to the accusation relative to the death of Pichegru, who was said to have been strangled by order of the First Consul, Napoleon said that it was too absurd, and that it would be degrading to attempt to repel it:—“What advantage,” he observed, “could  
“accrue to me from his death? A man of my  
“stamp does not act without some powerful  
“motive. Have I ever been known to shed blood  
“through caprice? Notwithstanding all the efforts  
“that have been made to blacken my reputation  
“and misrepresent my character, those who know  
“me, know that crime is foreign to my nature.  
“There is not a private act that has occurred

“during the whole course of my administration,  
“of which I might not speak openly before a  
“tribunal, not only without any disadvantage,  
“but even with some credit to myself. The  
“fact is, that Pichegru found himself placed in  
“a hopeless situation; his high mind could not  
“bear to contemplate the infamy of a public  
“execution; he despaired of my clemency, or dis-  
“dained to appeal to it, and put an end to his  
“existence.

“Had I been disposed to crime,” continued the  
Emperor, “it is not against Pichegru, who could  
“do no harm, that I should have levelled the  
“blow, but at *Moreau*, who had at that moment  
“placed me in a most perilous situation. If the  
“latter had unfortunately also killed himself while  
“in prison, my justification would have been ren-  
“dered much more difficult, on account of the  
“great advantage it would have been to me to get  
“rid of him. You gentlemen who were abroad,  
“and the ultra-royalists who were in France, have  
“never known the true state of public opinion in  
“France. Pichegru having been once unmasked,  
“and exposed as a traitor to the nation, no longer  
“excited sympathy in any breast; and this feeling  
“went so far, that the circumstance of his being  
“connected with *Moreau* was sufficient to effect  
“the ruin of the latter, who saw himself abandoned  
“by many of his adherents; for in the struggle of  
“parties, the majority of the people cared more

“ about the commonwealth than about individuals.  
“ I judged so correctly in this business, that when  
“ Real came to propose to me to arrest Moreau, I  
“ rejected the proposal without hesitation. Moreau  
“ is a man of too much importance, said I to him ;  
“ he is too directly opposed to me, I have too great  
“ an interest in getting rid of him, to expose  
“ myself thus to the conjectures of public opinion.  
“ But, replied Real, if Moreau conspires with  
“ Pichegru?—The case is then different; prove  
“ that to me, shew me that Pichegru is in Paris,  
“ and I will instantly sign the order for the apprehension of Moreau. Real had received indirect  
“ information of Pichegru’s arrival; but had not  
“ yet been able to trace his steps. Run to his  
“ brother’s, said I; if he has left his residence, it  
“ will be a strong indication that Pichegru is in  
“ Paris; if he is still in his lodgings, arrest him :  
“ his surprise will soon inform you of the truth.  
“ This brother had been a monk, and lived in a  
“ fourth floor in Paris. As soon as he found him-  
“ self arrested, he asked, before any question was  
“ put to him, what fault he had committed, and  
“ whether it was imputed to him as a crime that he  
“ had received against his will, a visit from his brother. He had been the first, he said, to represent  
“ to him the peril of his situation, and to advise him  
“ to go away again. This was quite enough, Moreau’s arrest was ordered and carried into effect.  
“ Moreau appeared at first to be under no appre-

“hension ; but when he found, after he had been  
“conducted into prison, that he was arrested for  
“having conspired, together with Pichegru and  
“Georges, against the state, he was quite discon-  
“certed, and extremely agitated. As for the  
“greater number of those who composed that  
“party,” added Napoleon, “the name of Pichegru  
“seemed to them a triumph ; they exclaimed on  
“all sides that Pichegru was in London, and that  
“in a few days this would be proved ; for they  
“either did not know that he was in Paris, or  
“believed that it would be easy for him to escape  
“thence.”

The First Consul had long since broken off with Moreau, who was entirely governed by his wife. “This,” said the Emperor, “is always a great misfortune, because a man in that case is neither himself nor his wife, he is nothing.” Moreau shewed himself sometimes favourable to the First Consul, and sometimes against him ; sometimes obsequious and sometimes sarcastic. The First Consul, who had wished to conciliate the affection of Moreau, found himself under the necessity of giving him up altogether. “Moreau,” he had said, “will in the end commit himself most seriously ; he will some day break his head against the columns of the Palace.” And to this he was but too much instigated by the inconsiderate conduct and the ridiculous pretensions of his wife and his mother-in-law. The latter went so far as to con-

tend for precedence with the wife of the First Consul. "The minister for foreign affairs," said Napoleon, "had been obliged once, on the occasion of a *fête* given by the ministers, to use violence to oblige her to desist."

After Moreau had been arrested, the First Consul sent him word, that it would be enough for him to confess that he had seen Pichegru, in order to put a stop to all proceedings against him. Moreau answered by a letter, in which he assumed a high tone; but afterwards, when Pichegru himself was arrested, and the affair began to assume a serious aspect, Moreau wrote to the First Consul a very submissive letter, but it was too late.

It was perfectly true that Moreau had conferred with Pichegru and Georges; and had given the following answer to their proposals:—"In the present state of affairs I could not do any thing for you, I could not even depend upon my own aides-de-camp; but *get rid* of the First Consul, I have a party in the Senate, and shall be immediately appointed in his stead. You, Pichegru, will be examined upon the charge which is brought against you, of having betrayed the national cause; depend upon it, it is necessary that you should be put upon your trial, but I will be answerable for the result: from that moment you will be Second Consul; and we will afterwards choose a third according to our wish, and proceed all together in concert and without in-



“terruption.” Georges, who was present, and whom Moreau had never known before, very urgently claimed that third place for himself. “That cannot be,” said Moreau, “you have no knowledge of the state of public opinion in France; you have always been a white,\* and you see that Pichegru will be obliged to wash off the stain of having had the intention to become one.” “I understand you,” said Georges, highly incensed. “What farce are we playing here, and whom do you take me for? You are then working for yourselves alone, and not at all for the King? If that is the case, and if there must be a blue at the head of the government, I prefer the one who is there now.” Upon this they separated in dudgeon, and Moreau requested Pichegru not to bring that brute, that bull, devoid of sense and of all information, any more.

“On the trial,” said Napoleon, “the firmness of the accomplices, the magnanimity by which they dignified their cause, and the line of absolute denial recommended by his Counsel, saved Moreau. On being questioned whether the charges brought against him of having held conferences and had interviews were true, he answered, *no*. But the victor of Hohenlinden was unaccustomed to falsehood; a sudden blush suffused every feature of his countenance, and

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\* A Royalist.

† A man of the revolutionary party.

“ none of the by-standers were deceived. I  
“ ever, he was acquitted, and most of the acc  
“ plices were condemned to death. I pard  
“ several of them; all those whose wives  
“ ceeded in penetrating into my presence,  
“ whose favour strong intercessions were n  
“ obtained their lives. The Polignacs, M. d  
“ vieres and others, would indubitably hav  
“ rished, but for the intervention of some fort  
“ circumstances. Others, less known, such  
“ man named Borel, Ingand de St. Maur, D  
“ chelle, &c. &c. were equally fortunate.  
“ true,” added he, “ that they did not after  
“ shew themselves very grateful for such a f  
“ and that, if they were worthy to have  
“ conduct investigated, it would be found  
“ their actions have not been of a nature  
“ courage clemency. One of them, who l  
“ the occasion above mentioned, owed l  
“ chiefly to the solicitations of Murat, was p  
“ the same man who set a price on Murat  
“ in Provence, in the year 1805. If he t  
“ that fidelity should outweigh gratitude, th  
“ fice must at least have been most painful  
“ Another is the man who has most con  
“ to circulate the imputation, as ridiculou  
“ concerning Pichegru was absurd, of the  
“ of the English Lieutenant Wright,\* &c.

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\* See Letters from the Cape.

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THE LIFE OF THE MARSHAL DE SASSONVILLE

London: Published by Henry Colburn & Co. Strand 1825



“In the midst of the affairs of Georges, Pichegru, and Moreau,” said the Emperor; “that of the Duke d’Enghien happened, and rendered the whole a strange complication.” And he then related that affair in detail. This latter circumstance, is the reason that induced me at the time to displace and postpone to this day the totality of the article which I now give, for I felt a very great repugnance to touch upon a subject so painful in itself, and so afflicting to several of my acquaintances, who had been in direct relation with the Prince, or personally attached to him. Above all, I dreaded to awaken the legitimate grief of a high personage, who has formerly honoured me with some marks of kindness, of which I have ever treasured the recollection. These are my motives; they will be understood and appreciated. But, however, I am now approaching to the end of my work, and my duty as a faithful historian, imperiously commands that I should take up this melancholy subject, lest my absolute silence should be misinterpreted. Nevertheless, I shall, for reasons before stated, omit all the details which are already known, and which may have been read in the works already quoted: (Letters from the Cape, and Mr. O’Meara’s work:) my account would be the same, for all of them were heard from Napoleon’s own mouth; I shall only relate a few particulars which have not found their way into the books above mentioned, and only such as appear

to me too intimately connected with the characteristic shades of Napoleon's disposition, not to impose upon me the obligation of mentioning them.

This event had made, at the time, a deep impression on my mind, as well as on that of the inhabitants of Paris. I, perhaps, had felt it still more forcibly, on account of the principles of my childhood, the habits and connexions of my younger days, and the line of my political opinions; and I was at that time, far from having got the better of this feeling. That first impression had still remained in all its force, and my ideas on this point were such, that I should certainly not have dared to pronounce the name of the Prince, in the presence of the Emperor; it would have seemed to me, to convey the idea of a reproach. I carried the feeling so far, that the first time I heard him pronounce the name himself, I turned red with embarrassment. Fortunately, I was walking behind him in a narrow path; otherwise, he would certainly have observed my confusion. Yet, notwithstanding all these previous dispositions on my part, the first time the Emperor developed this affair in all its general bearings, its details, and circumstances; when I heard him expose his various motives, with that conciseness, brilliancy, and power of persuasion which form the characteristics of his logic, I must confess, the affair seemed to wear a new aspect. When he had ceased to speak, I remained surprised, absorbed in

thought; I silently called to mind my former objections, I was angry with myself for having little or nothing to answer at this moment, and I was obliged to confess internally that I found myself stronger in feelings than in arguments, or solid objections.

The Emperor often resumed this subject, which gave me an opportunity of observing in him some characteristic shades very strongly marked. I have on those occasions, most distinctly and frequently seen in him the private man struggling against the public character; and the natural feelings of his heart contending against those which were suggested by his pride, and the dignity of his station. In the unreserved moments of familiar intercourse, he shewed himself not indifferent to the fate of the unfortunate Prince; but, if his conversation had reference to public concerns, it was altogether quite a different thing. One day, having spoken to me of the youth, and the untimely end of this ill-fated Prince, he concluded by saying: "And I have since learnt, my dear Las Cases, that he was favourable to me. I have been assured, that he used to speak of me with some degree of admiration; such is retributive justice in this world!" These last words were pronounced with such an expression, every feature of his face was so much in harmony with that expression, that I have no doubt, that if the individual whom Napoleon pitied, had been at that

moment in his power, he would have been eagerly forgiven, whatever his acts or intentions might have been. This was no doubt a sentiment expressed in an unguarded moment, in which I had as it were taken him by surprise, and I do not suppose that many persons have found themselves similarly placed. This delicate subject was too sensibly connected with Napoleon's pride, and the peculiar cast of his mind, to allow him to be lavish in his expression of such feelings; and he therefore varied his arguments and his words on the subject, as the circle of his hearers increased. We have just seen how he expressed himself in the confidence of a private conversation; his language was even different, when we were all assembled together: the affair, he would then say, might have occasioned him some regret, but had not given rise to any remorse, nor even to any scruples. But when there were any strangers present, he would pronounce that the Prince had deserved his fate.

The Emperor used to consider this affair under two very distinct aspects: with reference to the common law, or the established rules of justice, and with reference to the law of nature, or acts of violence. With us he would willingly argue the matter, and generally on the principles of common law; and he seemed to condescend to do so on account of the familiarity that existed between us, or of his superiority over us. He



generally concluded these conversations by observing, that he might possibly be reproached with severity, but that he could not be accused of any violation of justice ; because, notwithstanding all that calumny and falsehood had invented on the subject, all the forms required by law had been regularly observed and strictly attended to.

In the presence of strangers, the Emperor adopted a line of argument founded almost exclusively on the law of nature and state politics. It was visible that it would have been too painful to him so far to lower himself with them, as to insist much on the principles of common law ; to have done so would have appeared like an attempt to justify himself. " If I had not had in my favour " the laws of the country to punish the culprit," he would say to them, " I should still have had " the right of the law of nature, of legitimate self-defence. The Duke and his party had constantly " but one object in view, that of taking away my " life : I was assailed on all sides, and at every instant ; air guns, infernal machines, plots, ambuscades of every kind, were resorted to for that " purpose. At last I grew weary, and took an " opportunity of striking them with terror in their " turn in London ; I succeeded, and from that " moment there was an end to all conspiracies. " Who can blame me for having acted so ? What ! " blows threatening my existence are aimed at me " day after day, from a distance of one hundred

“ and fifty leagues; no power on earth; no tribunal can afford me redress; and I shall not be  
“ allowed to use the right of nature, and return  
“ war for war! What man, unbiassed by party feeling, possessing the smallest share of judgment  
“ and justice, can take upon himself to condemn  
“ me? on what side will he not throw blame,  
“ odium, and criminal accusations? Blood for  
“ blood; such is the natural, inevitable, and infal-  
“ lible law of retaliation: woe to him who pro-  
“ vokes it! Those who foment civil dissensions  
“ or excite political commotions, expose them-  
“ selves to become the victims of them. It would  
“ be a proof of imbecility or madness, to imagine  
“ and pretend that a whole family should have the  
“ strange privilege to threaten my existence, day  
“ after day, without giving me the right of retali-  
“ ation: they could not reasonably pretend to  
“ be above the law to destroy others, and claim  
“ the benefit of it for their own preservation: the  
“ chances must be equal. I had never personally  
“ offended any of them; a great nation had cho-  
“ sen me to govern them, almost all Europe had  
“ sanctioned their choice; my blood, after all, was  
“ not ditch-water; it was time to place it on a par  
“ with theirs. And what if I had carried retaliation  
“ further? I might have done it: the disposal  
“ of their destiny, the heads of every one of  
“ them, from the highest to the lowest, were more  
“ than once offered to me; but I rejected the offer

“with indignation. Not that I thought it would  
“be unjust for me to consent to it, in the situa-  
“tion to which they had reduced me; but I felt  
“so powerful, I thought myself so secure, that I  
“should have considered it a base and gratuitous  
“act of cowardice. My great maxim has always  
“been, that in war as well as in politics, every  
“evil action, even if legal, can only be excused  
“in case of absolute necessity: whatever goes  
“beyond that is criminal.

“It would have been ridiculous in those who  
“violated so openly the law of nations, to appeal  
“to it themselves. The violation of the territory  
“of Baden, of which so much has been said, is  
“entirely foreign to the main point of the ques-  
“tion. The law of the inviolability of territory  
“has not been devised for the benefit of the guilty,  
“but merely for the preservation of the indepen-  
“dence of nations, and of the dignity of the  
“sovereign. It was therefore for the Duke of  
“Baden, and for him alone, to complain, and he  
“did not; he yielded, no doubt, to violence and  
“to the sentiment of his political inferiority; but  
“even then, what has that to do with the merits  
“of the plots and outrages which I had to com-  
“plain of, and of which I had every right to be  
“revenged?” And he concluded that the real  
“authors of the dreadful catastrophe, the persons  
“who alone were responsible for it, were those who  
“had favoured and excited from abroad the plots

formed against the life of the First Consul. "For," said he, "either they had implicated the unfortunate Prince in them, and had thus sealed his doom; or, by neglecting to give him intimation of what was going forward, they had suffered him to slumber imprudently on the brink of the precipice, and to be so near the frontiers at the moment when so great a blow was going to be struck in the name, and for the interest of his family."

To us, in the intimacy of private conversation, the Emperor would say, that the blame in France might be ascribed to an excess of zeal in those who surrounded him, or to dark intrigues or private views; that he had been precipitately urged on in this affair; that they had as it were taken his mind unawares; and that his measures had been hastened, and their result anticipated. "I was one day alone," said he, "I recollect it well; I was taking my coffee, half seated on the table at which I had just dined; when sudden information is brought to me, that a new conspiracy has been discovered. I am warmly urged to put an end to these enormities; they represent to me that it is time at last to give a lesson to those who have been day after day conspiring against my life; that this end can only be attained by shedding the blood of one of them; and that the Duke d'Enghien, who might now be convicted of forming part of this new conspiracy, and taken

“ in the very act, should be that one. It was added, “ that he had been seen at Strasburg ; that it was “ even believed that he had been in Paris ; and “ that the plan was, that he should enter France “ by the east, at the moment of the explosion, “ whilst the Duke of Berry was disembarking in “ the west. I should tell you,” observed the Emperor, “ that I did not even know precisely who “ the Duke d’Enghien was (the Revolution having “ taken place when I was yet a very young man, “ and I having never been at court); and that I “ was quite in the dark as to where he was at that “ moment. Having been informed on those points, “ I exclaimed, that if such were the case, the Duke “ ought to be arrested, and that orders should be “ given to that effect. Every thing had been fore- “ seen and prepared ; the different orders were “ already drawn up, nothing remained to be done “ but to sign them, and the fate of the young “ Prince was thus decided. He had been residing “ for some time past, at a distance of about “ three leagues from the Rhine, in the States of “ Baden. Had I been sooner aware of this fact, “ and of its importance, I should have taken um- “ brage at it, and should not have suffered the “ Prince to remain so near the frontiers of France ; “ and that circumstance, as it happened, would “ have saved his life. As for the assertions that “ were advanced at the time, that I had been stre- “ nuously opposed in this affair, and that numerous

“ solicitations had been made to me, they are utterly false, and were only invented to make me appear in a more odious light. The same thing may be said of the various motives that have been ascribed to me ; these motives may have existed in the bosoms of those who acted an inferior part on this occasion, and may have guided them in their private views ; but my conduct was influenced only by the nature of the fact itself, and the energy of my disposition. Undoubtedly, if I had been informed in time of certain circumstances respecting the opinions of the Prince, and his disposition, if, above all, I had seen the letter which he wrote to me, and which, God knows for what reason, was only delivered to me after his death, I should certainly have forgiven him.” It was easy for us to perceive that these expressions of the Emperor were dictated by his heart and by nature, and that they were only intended for us ; for he would have felt himself much humbled, had he supposed that any body could think for a moment that he endeavoured to shift the blame upon some other person ; or that he condescended to justify himself. And this feeling was carried so far, that when he was speaking to strangers, or dictating on that subject for the public eye, he confined himself to saying that if he had seen the Prince’s letter, he should perhaps have forgiven him, on account of the great political advantages that he might have derived from so doing ;

and in tracing with his own hand his last thoughts, which he concludes will be recorded in the present age, and reach posterity, he still pronounces on this subject, which he is aware will be considered the most delicate for his memory, that if he were again placed in the same situation, he should again act in the same manner!! Such was the man, such the stamp of his mind, and the turn of his disposition.

Let those who delight in searching the human heart in its innermost recesses, to deduce consequences and draw conclusions, now exercise their ingenuity; I have supplied them with valuable materials, I have laid genuine documents before them. I will add another and a last, which will not be the least worthy of notice.

Napoleon one day said to me, with reference to the same subject, "If I occasioned a general consternation by that melancholy event, what an universal feeling of horror would have been produced by another spectacle with which I might have surprised the world! . . .

"I have frequently been offered the lives of those, whose places I filled on the throne, at the rate of one million a head. They were seen to be my competitors, and it was supposed that I thirsted after their blood; but even if my disposition had been different from what it was, had I been formed to commit crimes, I should have

“ repelled all thoughts of the crime thus proposed  
“ to me, as seeming altogether gratuitous. I was  
“ then so powerful, so firmly seated; and they  
“ seemed so little to be feared! Revert to the  
“ periods of Tilsit and Wagram; to my marriage  
“ with Maria Louisa; to the state and attitude of  
“ Europe! However, in the midst of the crisis of  
“ the affair of Georges and Pichegru, when I was  
“ assailed by murderers, the moment was thought-  
“ favourable to tempt me, and the offer was re-  
“ newed, having for its object the individual, whom  
“ public opinion, in England as well as in France,  
“ pointed out as chief mover of all these horrible  
“ conspiracies. I was at Boulogne, where the  
“ bearer of these offers arrived; I took it into my  
“ head to ascertain personally the truth and the  
“ nature of the proposal. I ordered him to be  
“ brought before me.—‘ Well, Sir!’ said I, when  
“ he appeared.—‘ Yes, First Consul, we will give  
“ him up to you for one million.’—‘ Sir, I will  
“ give you two millions; but on condition that  
“ you will bring him alive.’—‘ Ah! that I could  
“ not promise,’ said the man, hesitating, and much  
“ disconcerted by the tone of my voice and the  
“ expression of my looks at that moment.—‘ Do  
“ you then take me for a mere assassin? Know  
“ Sir, that though I may think it necessary to in-  
“ flict a punishment, or make a great example, I  
“ am not disposed to encourage the perfidy of an



“ ambuscade ;’ and I drove him from my presence.  
“ Indeed his mere presence was already too great  
“ a contamination.”

*The Servant who had been taken away from me, comes secretly to pay me a Visit.—His Offers.—Second Visit.—Third Visit.—I intrust to him my Letter to Prince Lucien, which causes my Removal from St. Helena.*

From 21st to 24th.—I had remained with the Emperor the preceding day, as late as one or two o'clock in the morning ; on returning to my own apartment, I found that I had had a visit paid to me, during my absence, by a person who had become tired of waiting for me.

That *visit*, which my son had received, and which prudence obliged me to insert in my journal, at the time, under the veil of mystery, may and shall now be fully explained.

That visit was neither more nor less than the mysterious re-appearance of the servant, whom Sir Hudson Lowe had taken from me, and who, favoured by the darkness of the night, and his knowledge of the localities of the island, had surmounted every obstacle, avoided sentinels, and scaled precipices, to come and see me, in order to tell me that, having got a situation with a person who was going to set off for London in a very few days, he came to offer me his services without reserve. He had waited for me in my own apartment for a considerable time, and seeing that I did not return

from the Emperor's, he had gone away, fearing lest he should be caught; but he promised to return, either under pretence of visiting his sister, who was employed in our household; or by having recourse to the same means he had just resorted to.

The next day, I immediately communicated my good fortune to the Emperor, who appeared much pleased at the intelligence, and to attach some value to the circumstance. I was very warm on the subject; I strenuously urged, that we had already been here above a year, without having taken one single step towards the prospect of better days; on the contrary, we were every day more and more restricted, ill used, and tormented. We were lost in the universe; Europe was ignorant of our real situation; it behoved us to make it known. Day after day, the newspapers shewed us the veil of imposture which had been thrown over us, and the impudent and disgusting falsehoods of which we were the objects; it was for us, I urged, to publish the truth; it would find its way to the ears of the Sovereigns, to whom it was perhaps unknown; it would become known to the people, whose sympathy would be our consolation, and whose indignation would, at least, revenge us upon our cruel persecutors, &c.

We immediately began to search amongst our records. The Emperor portioned them out, pointing out the share which each of us was to take, in

order to transcribe them with greater despatch. The day however passed without any thing being done on the subject. The next day (Friday), as soon as I saw the Emperor, I took the liberty of reminding him of our plans of the preceding day ; but he now appeared to think less of the matter, and ended the conversation by saying, "*We must see.*" This day passed like the preceding ; I was on thorns. At night, as if to add to my impatience, my servant came again, and renewed the unreserved offer of his services. I told him I should take advantage of them, and that he might act without scruple, as I should not involve him in any criminality or danger. To this he replied, that he did not care about that, and that he would take charge of any thing I might wish to give him, observing only, that he would call for it, without fail, the day after the next (Sunday), which would, in all probability, be the eve of his sailing. The next day (Saturday), as soon as I saw the Emperor, I hastened to communicate to him what I had heard from the servant, dwelling upon the circumstance of our having only twenty-four hours more ; but the Emperor, with the utmost indifference, turned the conversation to some other topic, totally foreign to my object. I was struck with surprise. I knew the Emperor's disposition, and I was perfectly satisfied that the indifference, the sort of absence of mind, which he manifested at this moment, could not be the effect

of chance, still less the result of caprice ; but what then could his motives be ? This idea haunted my mind the whole day, and rendered me melancholy and miserable. At night, the same sentiment which agitated my breast during the day, prevented me from sleeping. I painfully recalled to my mind every circumstance connected with this affair, when suddenly a new light broke in upon me. What do I require of the Emperor, thought I ? that he should stoop to the execution of trifling details too much beneath him ! No doubt, disgust and secret dissatisfaction have occasioned the silence which has caused my uneasiness. Ought we to be useless to him ? Can we not serve him without afflicting him ? And then several of his former observations came across my mind. Had I not informed him of the affair ; had he not approved of it ; what more could I expect ?\* Henceforth it was for me to act, and I made up my mind in one instant. I resolved to proceed in the business, without mentioning another word to him on the subject : and, in order that it might remain more secret, I determined to keep it entirely to myself.

Some months had now elapsed since I had succeeded in forwarding the celebrated letter, in answer to Sir Hudson Lowe, concerning the Com-

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\* Mr. O'Meara's work informs me, after a lapse of six years, that I had precisely guessed the Emperor's feeling on this occasion.

missioners from the Allied Powers, and which was the only document that had been sent to Europe up to that period. The person who had kindly taken charge of it, had brought me a large piece of satin, on part of which the letter had been written. Some was still left ; and that was precisely what I wanted. Thus every thing combined to urge me towards the precipice, down which I was about to fall.

As soon as daylight appeared, I gave the remainder of the satin to my son, on whose discretion I could rely ; and he spent the whole of the day in tracing upon it my letter to Prince Lucien. Night came, and, faithful to his word, my young mulatto appeared. He had some knowledge of the business of a tailor ; he sewed with his own hands the satin into his clothes, and took his leave of me. I promised to give him some other things if he came to see me again before his departure, and wished him a pleasant voyage in case I should not see him again : afterwards I went to bed with a light heart, and a feeling of satisfaction, arising from the contemplation of a day well employed, and marked by a fortunate event. I was far from thinking at that moment, that I had just cut with my own hands the thread of my destiny at Longwood !

Alas ! it will soon be seen that twenty-four hours had not elapsed, when, under pretence of my having written that letter, I was removed from Long-

wood, and my person and papers were in the power and at the entire disposal of the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe. And if I should now be asked, how I could be so little on my guard, and not suspect that possibly a snare might be laid for me, I should say, that my servant had appeared to me honest, that I believed him to be faithful, and that I was still a stranger to all idea of instigating spies, a new invention, the honour of which the British Ministers of that period may claim as their own, and which has since thriven so well on the continent !

*My Removal from Longwood.—Solitary Confinement at St. Helena (a space of about six Weeks).*

25th.—The Emperor sent for me at about four o'clock ; he had just finished working, and appeared much pleased with the result of his occupations of the day. " I have been busy with Bertrand all day on fortifications," said he to me, " and " the day has appeared to me very short." I have already said that this was a newly acquired taste of the Emperor's, quite of the moment ; and such pastimes are valuable here, God knows !

I had followed the Emperor to the kind of grass plot which adjoins the tent, from thence we went to the corner of the walk that leads to the bottom of the garden. Five oranges were brought on a plate, with a knife and some sugar. Oranges are very scarce on the island ; they are sent from the

Cape. The Emperor is very fond of this fruit. These were a present from Lady Malcolm, and the Admiral never failed to send him some, whenever he had any. We were three of us at this moment with the Emperor; he gave me one of these oranges to put in my pocket for my son, and proceeded to cut the others in slices, and prepare them; and, seated on the trunk of a tree, was eating them cheerfully, and familiarly distributing part of them to us at the same time. By a fatal instinct, I was precisely at that instant contemplating the pleasure of this momentary situation! Alas! I was far from thinking that I was then taking the last present I could receive from his hands! . . .

The Emperor then took some turns in the garden; the wind had become cold: he went into the house again, and bade me follow him alone into the drawing room, and the billiard room, whilst he paced up and down the whole extent of the two rooms. He was talking to me again about the manner in which he had passed his day, and asked me how I had spent mine; then, the conversation having turned on his marriage, he was speaking of the *fêtes* which had taken place on that occasion, and which had ended in the terrible accident that happened at M. Schwartzberg's ball. I was listening, and inwardly proposing to make an interesting article in my journal on the subject, when the Emperor suddenly interrupted

his conversation, to observe through the window a great number of English officers, who were advancing towards us from the gate of our enclosure: it was the Governor, surrounded by several of his Staff. The Grand Marshal, who at this moment came into the room, observed that the Governor had already been there in the morning; and that he had been at his house, and remained there some time; he added, that a certain movement of the troops was spoken of. These circumstances appeared singular; and—mark the effect of a guilty conscience!—the idea of my letter clandestinely sent, immediately occurred to my mind, and a secret foreboding instantly warned me that all these strange proceedings concerned me. Such, in fact, was the case, for a few minutes after, a message was brought to me, informing me that the English Colonel, the creature of Sir Hudson Lowe, was waiting for me in my own apartment. I made a sign that I was with the Emperor, who, a few minutes afterwards, said to me, “Go, Las Cases, and see what that animal wants of you.” And, as I was going, he added, “*and come back soon.*” These were for me the last words of Napoleon. Alas, I have never seen him since! but his accent, the tone of his voice, still sound in my ears. How often since have I taken delight in allowing my imagination to dwell upon them! and what mingled sensations of pleasure and regret may be produced by a painful recollection



The Colonel who wished to see me was a man entirely devoted to the Governor's wishes, his factotum, and with whom I had frequently to communicate as interpreter, I had no sooner entered the room than, with an expression of benevolence and kindness both in his voice and countenance, he inquired after my health with a tender interest. This was the kiss of Judas ; for having made a sign to him with my hand to sit down on the sofa, and having also taken a seat on it myself, he seized this opportunity to place himself between me and the door : and altering at once his tone and expression, he informed me that he arrested me in the name of the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, on the deposition of my servant, who had charged me with having carried on a secret correspondence.

My room was already guarded by dragoons, all representations on my part became useless, I was obliged to yield to violence, and was carried away strongly escorted. The Emperor has since written, as it will be seen hereafter, that on seeing me from his window, hurried along through the plain surrounded by armed men, the alacrity of the numerous staff prancing about me, and the quick undulation of their high feathers floating in the air, had put him in mind of the ferocious joy of the savage inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific ocean, dancing round the prisoner whom they are about to devour.

I had been separated from my son, who had been

detained prisoner in my apartment; but he soon joined me, also under escort: so that the sudden interruption and final termination of our communications with Longwood, date from that moment. We were both shut up in a wretched hovel, near the former habitation of General Bertrand and his family. I was obliged to sleep on a miserable pallet, and to make room for my poor son by my side, lest he should have to lie on the floor; I considered his life to be at this moment in danger, he was threatened with an aneurism, and had been on the point of expiring in my arms a few days before. We were kept until eleven o'clock without food; and when, in order to supply the wants of my son, I went to the door and to each of the windows to ask the men who guarded them for a morsel of bread, they answered me only by presenting their bayonets.

*My Papers are visited, &c.*

25th, 26th.—What a terrible night is the first night spent in prison, within four walls! What ideas, what reflections, arise in the mind! My last thought at night, and the first on waking in the morning, had been that I was still only a few minutes walk distant from Longwood, and yet that perhaps I was already separated from it by eternity!

In the course of the morning the Grand Marshal, accompanied by an officer, passed within hail of

my hovel. I was enabled to ask him from my dungeon how the Emperor was. The Grand Marshal was going to the Governor's at Plantation House. His visit was undoubtedly on my account, but what could be the object of his mission? What were the ideas and the wishes of the Emperor on the subject? This occupied all my thoughts. On passing again on his return, the Grand Marshal, with an expression of melancholy, made a sign to me, which gave me the idea of bidding me adieu, and which went to my heart. In the course of the morning, General Gourgaud and M. de Montholon also came as far as the late residence of Madame Bertrand, which was opposite to my prison, and not far from it. It was consolatory to me to see and interpret their signs of friendship and tender interest. They in vain solicited to be allowed to come into my prison; they were obliged to return without having succeeded. Shortly after, Madame Bertrand sent me some oranges, informing me at the same time, that she had just received indirectly, some news of my wife, and that she was in good health. These attentions, these demonstrations of kindness, from all my companions, were to me a proof that the first appearance of misfortune is sufficient to awaken the feelings of family affection, and I found some consolation at this moment in being a prisoner.

No time had been lost in my late apartment, after my arrest: a police officer (a recent importa-

tion into the colony, and, I presume, the first attempt of the kind that had been made on British ground) had made his first essay on me. He had searched my secretaire, broken open my drawers, and seized all my papers ; and anxious to shew his dexterity and the extent of his abilities, he had immediately set about undoing our beds, and taking my sofa to pieces, and even spoke of taking up the flooring.

The Governor having got possession of all my papers, now proceeded to produce them to me in triumph. He went into the late house of Madame Bertrand, opposite me, followed by eight or ten officers, and sent to ask me whether I would go over there to be present at the inventory which was to be made of them, or whether I preferred that he should come to me. I replied, that since he left me the option, the latter plan would be most agreeable to me. Every body being seated, I rose to protest most positively against the indecorous manner in which I had been taken away from Longwood, against the illegality of sealing up my papers in my absence, and against the violation about to be committed on my private papers, the sacred depositories of my thoughts, which should exist for me only, and which had remained to this day a secret to all the world. I protested against the abuse that might be made of their contents by power ; I told Sir Hudson Lowe, that if he thought that the circumstances of the case re-

quired that he should examine them, he must use his own discretion, that I had no fear of the consequences, but that I owed to myself and to general principles, to throw the responsibility of the act entirely upon him, to yield only to violence, and not to authorize it by my consent.

These words, uttered by me in presence of all his officers, irritated the Governor, who exclaimed, "Count Las Cases, do not render your situation worse than it is; it is bad enough already!" alluding probably to the punishment of death, which he often reminded us of our being liable to, if we assisted in endeavouring to effect the escape of the great Captive. He concluded, no doubt, that my papers would produce the most important discoveries: God knows how far his ideas might go on that subject.

Before Sir Hudson began to read my papers, he called General Bingham, the second in command in the island, to assist personally in their perusal; but that officer's ideas of delicacy differed entirely from those of the Governor. "Sir Hudson Lowe," answered he, with a marked expression of disgust, "I beg you will excuse me, I do not think that I shall be able to read that kind of French handwriting."

I had, in fact, no real objection to the Governor's examining my papers; and I therefore told him that, not in his capacity of judge or magistrate, for he was neither the one nor the other to me, but

of my own accord and out of pure condescension, I thought proper to allow him to read them. He fell immediately upon my journal. His joy and his expectations may be imagined, when he perceived that it would inform him, day by day, of all that happened amongst us at Longwood. It was sufficiently in order to have a table of contents, or index to the chapters at the beginning of each month. Sir Hudson Lowe, on meeting frequently with his name, would immediately refer to the page pointed out in the index to read the details; and I could not help observing to him, that if he found it often necessary to use forbearance, it was not my fault, but the fault of his own indiscretion. I assured him that my journal was not known to any body; that the Emperor himself, who was the sole subject of it, had only read the first pages of it; that its contexture was far from being settled, and that it was intended to remain, for some time to come, a secret known to me only.

After Sir Hudson Lowe had spent two or three hours in looking over my journal, I told him that my intention had been to enable him to form a correct idea of the nature of its contents, and that having now done so, I felt bound, for many reasons, to prohibit, as far as it was in my power, his going any further; that he *could* of course do as he pleased, but that I should protest against the violence he would thus exercise, and the abuse of his authority. I could easily perceive that this



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was a great disappointment to him, he even hesitated: however, my protest produced its effect, and my journal was not touched again. I might have extended the protest to all my other papers, but I did not care much about them; and they were, during several days, most minutely examined.

I had my last will sealed up: I was obliged to open it as well as other papers equally sacred. Having got to the bottom of a portfolio containing some things which I had not ventured to look at since my absence from Europe, I was obliged to open them. This day was to be a day of emotion to me: the sight of these objects awoke in my breast some old recollections which my courage had stifled, since certain painful separations had taken place. I was affected, and obliged to hasten out of the room. My son, who remained in it, told me afterwards, that the Governor himself had appeared somewhat affected by this circumstance.

*My Removal to Balcombe's Cottage.*

From 28th to 30th. This day, 28th, we have been removed from our wretched hovel to a kind of cottage belonging to Mr. Balcombe, our former host when at Briars, and situated about a league distant. The house was small, but very tolerable, and situated opposite Longwood, and at a short distance from it: we were only separated from it

by several ridges of precipices and steep summits of mountains. We were guarded by a detachment of the sixty-sixth regiment; numerous sentinels watched over us, and defended the approach to our prison. An officer was at our disposal, Sir Hudson Lowe obligingly said, and, as he affirmed, for our convenience. All communications were strictly intercepted, we were placed in a state of the most absolute seclusion. On the summit of the hills which surrounded the hollow in which our house was situated, there was a road on which we saw to-day General Gourgaud, accompanied by an English officer. We could observe his efforts to come as near to us as possible, and we received with feelings of joy and affection, the signs and demonstrations of friendship which our companion addressed to us from that distance, and returned ours to him in the same manner. The kind and excellent Madame Bertrand sent us again some oranges: we were not allowed to write to her to thank her, and were obliged to confine the expression of our gratitude to sending her some roses which we had gathered in our prison.

The next day Sir Hudson Lowe came to see us in our new residence. He wished to know what kind of bed I had had, and I took him to the next room and shewed him a mattress on the floor. The same kind of attention had been bestowed upon our food. "I mention these things to you," said I, "because you have asked me; but for my part

“ I do not care about them.” He then grew very angry with the person to whom he had intrusted the superintendence of our establishment here, and sent us our meals from his own table at Plantation House, although a distance of two leagues, and continued so to do until our wants were regularly provided for.

It became necessary to devise some occupation in our new prison, to enable us to bear the weight of time. I divided our hours so as to fill up our days : I regularly gave lessons of history and mathematics to my son ; we read, and during our intervals of leisure we walked about our enclosure. The place was agreeable enough for St. Helena, it offered some verdure and a few trees. A great number of fowls, which were being reared for the consumption of Longwood, were kept there, as well as some *pintados*, and other large birds, which we soon rendered tame : prisoners are ingenious and compassionate. In the evening we used to light a fire, and then I related to my son some family stories ; I informed him of my family concerns, and mentioned to him, and made him take down the names of those persons who had shewn themselves kind to me during the course of my life, or had rendered me some service. In short, our life was dull and melancholy, but so calm that it was not devoid of a kind of pleasurable feeling. One idea alone was exceedingly painful, and haunted us continually : the Emperor was there

almost within sight, and yet we inhabited two distinct worlds; we were only separated by a short distance, and yet all communication had ceased! There was something horrible in this situation; I was no longer with him, and I was not with my family, which I had left to follow him. What then remained to me? My son shared in these feelings: urged by this situation, and by the enthusiasm of youth, the dear boy offered to me, in a moment of exultation, to take advantage of the darkness of night, to elude the vigilance of our guards, descend into the numerous precipices, and scale the steep and numerous heights which separated us from Longwood, see Napoleon, and bring me back some news from him, which he engaged to do before day-light. I calmed this zeal, which, even had it made the attempt practicable, would have produced no other result than to afford a feeling of personal satisfaction, and might have occasioned the most serious consequences. The Emperor had conversed with me so often, and so fully, that I did not suppose there was any thing he might wish to inform me of; and if the attempt made by my son had been discovered, what a noise it would have made, what importance would have been attached to it by the Governor, what absurd stories he would have imagined and produced! &c.

*I take a resolution.—My Letters to Sir Hudson Lowe, &c.*

From Sunday December 1st, to Friday December 6th.—The days of our imprisonment were slowly succeeding each other, and the Governor, although he continued to visit us frequently, did not mention any thing concerning our situation ; he had merely hinted to me that my residence in the Island and my confinement might be protracted, until instructions were returned from London. Eight days had nearly elapsed without producing the least approach towards any result whatever. This state of inactivity and passiveness could not agree with the nature of my disposition. The health of my son was at times most alarming. Deprived of all communication with Longwood, I was left alone to meditate by myself. I reflected upon the situation in which I was thus placed, fixed upon a plan, and took a resolution. I chose it, extreme in its nature, thinking that if it was approved by the Emperor, it might prove useful, and that it would be very easy to retrace my steps if he wished it. I therefore wrote to the Governor the following letter :

“ SIR,—In consequence of a snare laid by my  
“ servant, I was on the 25th ultimo torn from Long-  
“ wood, and all my papers were seized, for having  
“ infringed your restrictions, to which I had pre-  
“ viously submitted. Had you trusted the obser-  
“ vance of these restrictions to my word or to

“ my delicacy, I should have considered them as  
“ sacred; but you chose to guard them by at-  
“ taching penalties to their violation, and I chose  
“ to run the risk of encountering them. You  
“ have applied those penalties at your own dis-  
“ cretion, and I have made no objection to it. All  
“ this, as far as it goes, is perfectly regular; but  
“ the measure of punishment should not exceed  
“ the measure of the offence. What is now the  
“ case? Two letters have been delivered for trans-  
“ mission without your knowledge: one of them  
“ contains the relation of the events that have  
“ occurred to us, written for Prince Lucien, and  
“ which would have passed through your hands, if  
“ you had not informed me that the continuation  
“ of my correspondence, and the style of my let-  
“ ters would cause my removal by you from the  
“ person of the Emperor. The other letter was  
“ merely a letter of friendship. However this cir-  
“ cumstance has placed all my papers at your dis-  
“ posal, you have seen them all, even to the most  
“ secret. I have myself so much facilitated your  
“ researches, that I have consented to allow you to  
“ peruse, solely upon your word, that which was  
“ known only to myself, which is as yet a mass of  
“ undigested ideas, undetermined, and liable at  
“ every moment to be corrected, or modified; in  
“ a word, the secret, the chaos of my thoughts. In  
“ so doing I have wished to convince you, and I ap-  
“ peal to your candour, when I say that I hope I have

“ convinced you, that in the multitude of papers  
“ which you have hastily looked over, there is  
“ nothing that could be considered as tending to  
“ interfere with the high and important part of your  
“ functions : no plot, no plan, not even a thought  
“ relating to Napoleon’s escape. You could not  
“ find any, because none existed. We are of  
“ opinion that his escape is impossible, and we do  
“ not think of it. Yet I will not deny that I should  
“ willingly have attempted to effect it, had I seen  
“ the possibility of success. I should willingly  
“ have sacrificed my life to restore him to liberty.  
“ I should have fallen a martyr to my zeal, and my  
“ memory would have lived for ever in all noble  
“ and generous hearts. But I repeat it, nobody  
“ considers the attempt practicable ; and nobody  
“ thinks of making it. The Emperor Napoleon’s  
“ plans and wishes are still those he formed when  
“ he repaired *willingly and in good faith* on board  
“ the Bellerophon, that is, to go and seek for a life  
“ of tranquillity in America, or even in England,  
“ under the protection of the laws.

“ These points settled, I protest with all my  
“ might, against your reading henceforward, I  
“ might say all my private papers, but I confine  
“ myself to what I call *my Journal*. I owe it to  
“ the great respect which I entertain for the august  
“ personage, whose name fills its pages, I owe  
“ it to the respect due to myself, to state my  
“ solemn objection to your so doing. I there-

“fore demand either that those papers may be  
“immediately restored to me, if you think con-  
“scientiously that their contents are foreign to  
“the grand object of your administration ; or, if  
“from what you have read of them, you consider  
“that certain parts should be laid before the Bri-  
“tish Ministers, I demand that you will forward  
“them all to England, and send me with them.  
“You, Sir, are so often alluded to in those pa-  
“pers, that delicacy imperiously commands you  
“to adopt one of those two alternatives. You  
“cannot possibly endeavour to avail yourself,  
“more than I have allowed you, of this oppor-  
“tunity to read in them what concerns you per-  
“sonally, lest you expose yourself to the conclu-  
“sions that will be drawn by induction from this  
“abuse of your authority, lest the circumstance  
“be thought connected with the trap laid for me,  
“and with the great stir that has been made about  
“such a trifle. As soon as I shall have arrived  
“in England with these papers, I shall ask the  
“Ministers in their turn, and I shall appeal to the  
“whole world, whether any importance can be  
“attached in the eyes of the law, to a document  
“recording day by day, with all the negligence  
“warranted by strict privacy, the conversation,  
“the words, and perhaps even the gestures of the  
“Emperor Napoleon ? I shall ask them par-  
“ticularly, whether I have not a right to demand  
“of them the most inviolable secrecy concerning



“ every part of a Journal, which is only the rough  
“ draught of my thoughts, which properly speaking  
“ does not exist, which contains only materials  
“ yet undigested ; which I might without scruple  
“ disavow in almost every particular, as being as  
“ yet far from being settled in my own mind, and  
“ in which it happened to me every day, to have  
“ to correct by the tenor of a new conversation the  
“ errors of a former one, errors that must be un-  
“ avoidable and of frequent occurrence, both with  
“ respect to the man who speaks without knowing  
“ that he is observed, and to the man who collects  
“ without considering himself bound to warrant  
“ the authenticity of his information. As for what  
“ concerns you, Sir, in those pages, if you have  
“ frequently had occasion to complain of the  
“ opinions I have pronounced, or the facts I have  
“ stated, it is very easy to point out between man  
“ and man, the errors into which I may have fallen.  
“ You cannot possibly afford me a greater pleasure  
“ than by giving me an opportunity of being just ;  
“ and whatever be the opinion in which I persist,  
“ after your explanation, you will at least be  
“ obliged to acknowledge my candour and sin-  
“ cerity. Be that as it may, Sir, and whatever be  
“ your intentions with respect to me, I from this  
“ moment withdraw, in as far as my present posi-  
“ tion will admit, from the state of voluntary sub-  
“ jection in which I had placed myself towards  
“ you. When I entered into that engagement,

“ you told me that I remained at liberty to retract  
“ it at any time ; and I therefore from the present  
“ moment desire to be restored to the common  
“ class of citizens. I place myself once more  
“ under the operation of your civil laws, I appeal  
“ to your tribunals, not to implore their favour,  
“ but their justice and their judgment. I presume,  
“ General, that you have too much respect for the  
“ laws, and too much innate justice in your heart,  
“ to make it necessary for me so far to insult you,  
“ as to observe that you would become responsible  
“ for all violations of the law, that may be exercised  
“ against me directly or indirectly. I do not sup-  
“ pose that the *letter* of your instructions, which  
“ might induce you to detain me a prisoner here  
“ or at the Cape during several months, could  
“ shelter you from the *spirit* of those same instruc-  
“ tions, appealed to by the power, the superiority,  
“ the majesty of the laws.

“ Those instructions, if I have rightly understood  
“ them, in ordering you to detain every person  
“ having belonged to the establishment at Long-  
“ wood, during a certain time before you restore  
“ them to liberty, have only for their object, no  
“ doubt, to derange the communications that  
“ might have been held with that horrible prison,  
“ and to let some time elapse after their cessation.  
“ Now the manner in which I have been torn away,  
“ has been sufficient to attain that end. It was  
“ impossible for me to bring away any idea of

“the moment. I was as it were struck with sudden death. Besides, if I am sent to England under accusation, and submitted to the operation of the laws, they will, if I am found guilty, sufficiently obviate the inconvenience which it has been sought to avoid. If I am not guilty, I shall still be exposed to the provisions of the Alien bill ; or if that is not enough, I here give beforehand my voluntary assent to all precautions, however arbitrary they may be, which it may be thought proper to adopt against me on this occasion.

“ Without yet knowing, Sir, what your intentions may be with respect to the disposal of my person, I have already imposed upon myself the greatest of all sacrifices. I am still very near to Longwood, and perhaps, I am already separated from it by eternity ;—horrible thought, that harkens up my soul, and will continue to haunt my imagination! . . . But a few days ago, and you would have brought me to submit to the greatest sacrifices, by the fear of being removed from the Emperor's person ; to-day, it is not in your power to restore me to him. A stain has been affixed upon me, by arresting me almost within his sight. I can no longer be a source of consolation to him ; he would only see in me a being dishonoured, suggesting painful recollections. And yet his presence, the attentions which I delighted to pay him, are dearer to me than my

“life! But perhaps, some pity will be shewn to  
“me from afar! Something tells me, that I shall  
“return; but by a purified channel, bringing with  
“me all that is dear to my existence, to assist me  
“in surrounding with pious and tender cares, the  
“immortal monument placed at the extremity of  
“the universe, and slowly consumed by the in-  
“clemency of the air, and the perfidy and cruelty  
“of mankind. You have spoken to me, Sir, of  
“your own afflictions; we do not suspect, you have  
“said, all the tribulations with which you are as-  
“sailed; but every one knows and feels his own  
“misery only. You do not suspect, on your side,  
“Sir, that you keep Longwood covered with the  
“veil of mourning. I have the honour,” &c.

A correspondence being once established with Sir Hudson Lowe, I did not remain idle. The following day I wrote to him again, to tell him, that in consequence of my letter of the day before, I now officially, and in due form, demanded my removal from St. Helena, and my return to Europe. The next day after that, I took up the same subject, and treated it with reference to my situation, as affecting my domestic concerns.

“In my two preceding letters,” said I to him, “both relating to my political situation, I had  
“thought it improper and unbecoming to intro-  
“duce a single word touching my private affairs;  
“but now that I consider myself as belonging  
“once more to the mass of common citizens, I do

“not hesitate, as an accidental inhabitant of your  
“island, to represent to you all the horrors of my  
“private situation. You are aware of the danger-  
“ous state of my son’s health : it must have been  
“reported to you by the medical men. Ever since  
“he has seen the dear and sacred tie which bound  
“us to Longwood dissolved, all his ideas, all his  
“wishes, all his hopes, are ardently turned towards  
“Europe, and his disease will be increased, by  
“impatience and the power of imagination. Such  
“is *his* physical situation, which renders *my* moral  
“situation still worse if possible. I have to con-  
“tend at the same time against the feelings of my  
“heart, and the uneasiness of my mind. I can-  
“not contemplate without a feeling of terror, that  
“I am responsible to myself for having brought  
“him here, and for being the cause of his being  
“detained here. What should I answer to his  
“mother, who would ask me for her son? What  
“should I reply to the multitude of idlers and  
“others, who though indifferent to the circum-  
“stances, are ever ready to judge and condemn?  
“I say nothing of my own health, it is of little  
“importance in the midst of such emotions, and  
“such causes of anxiety. And yet, I find myself  
“in a most deplorable state; for since I have no  
“longer before my eyes the cause which kept the  
“faculties of my mind in action, my body sinks  
“under the dreadful havoc produced by eighteen  
“months of struggles, agitations, and afflictions,

“such as the imagination can hardly dwell upon.  
“I am no longer near the august person for  
“whom I cheerfully endured them, and I am  
“nevertheless also separated from my family,  
“whose absence has caused me so much sorrow.  
“Deprived of both objects, my heart is torn be-  
“tween them, it wanders in an abyss, it can no  
“longer endure it. I leave you, Sir, to weigh  
“these considerations. Do not sacrifice two vic-  
“tims. I request you will send us to England;  
“to the source of science and of every kind of  
“assistance. This is the first demand of any kind,  
“that I have made either of yourself or your pre-  
“decessor. But the deplorable state of my son’s  
“health overpowers my stoicism; will it not awake  
“your humanity? Several motives may tend to  
“influence your decision: they are all contained  
“in my letter of 30th November. I shall merely  
“add here, that an opportunity now offers for you  
“to give a great and rare example of impartiality,  
“in sending thus to your Ministers one of your  
“adversaries.”

After having received these two letters, Sir Hudson Lowe called upon me, and with reference to the first, he immediately denied having laid any trap for me through the medium of his servant. He however admitted, that appearances warranted my suspicions. And how could I avoid forming them? said I to him; this servant had been several times summoned before the authorities of the

island, after he had been taken from me; since that, he had good naturedly come to offer his services for Europe, and had assured me, that he would find means to come secretly to me to take my orders; and he had actually come several times, notwithstanding the very severe measures of precaution exercised against us. Be that as it may, Sir Hudson Lowe gave me his word of honour on the subject, and I was obliged to believe him.

Sir Hudson Lowe, afterwards, went on to discuss verbally some passages of my letters, dwelling particularly upon certain expressions, which, he represented to me in a friendly manner, could not but be unpleasant to him. He found me not only on this, but on several other occasions of the same nature, perfectly accommodating. My answer to his observations, was generally to take up the pen immediately, and erase or modify the expressions that displeased him.

I omit a pretty voluminous correspondence upon the same subject; I shall merely state, that in general, Sir Hudson Lowe avoided giving a written answer, and that his custom was to come, as it has just been seen, to converse with me respecting the letters he had just received, and obtain some erasures, after which he retired, saying, that he would soon give an ample answer: but this he did not do at the time, and has never done since; but, as I have been informed from England, he now pays periodical papers, or occasional libellers,

to abuse the *Memorial de Sainte-Hélène*, and revile its author.

As, in the numerous verbal discussions to which my letters gave rise, Sir Hudson Lowe did not, with the exception of the erasure of a few expressions, obtain any important concession, or attain any of the objects he had in view ; he would, on leaving me, represent me as a man of deep cunning, and, as he affirmed, very much to be feared : for with him a man was very cunning, very crafty, and very dangerous, who had sense enough not to yield blindly to all his views, or fall into his snares. However, the following is the only trick I ever played him. The idleness and rigour of captivity sharpen the invention ; besides, it was all fair between us : the incontestable right of a prisoner, is to endeavour to deceive his gaoler.

I said at the beginning of this work, that the Emperor at the moment of our departure for St. Helena, had secretly intrusted me with a necklace of diamonds of very considerable value.

The habit of wearing it about me for such a length of time, had brought me to think no more about it, so that it was only after several days of seclusion, and quite by chance, that I thought of it. Closely watched as I was, I could not see any possibility of being able to restore it to the Emperor, who had no doubt forgotten it as well as myself. After having thought a great deal on the subject, I contrived to make use of Sir Hudson Lowe him-



self for that purpose. I requested to be allowed to bid my companions farewell, and wrote the following letter to the Grand Marshal :—

“ SIR,—Torn from the midst of you all, left to  
“ myself, deprived of all communication whatever,  
“ I have been obliged to found my decisions on my  
“ own judgment, and my own feelings. I have ad-  
“ dressed them officially to Sir Hudson Lowe,  
“ on the 30th of November. In return for the  
“ liberty which I am allowed, I abstain from say-  
“ ing a single word about it, and rely upon the  
“ delicacy of the high authorities to communicate  
“ to you the whole of my letter, if any part of it  
“ should ever be mentioned or alluded to—I re-  
“ sign myself to my fate.

“ It only remains for me to request you will  
“ lay at the Emperor’s feet, the assurance of my  
“ respect, veneration, and affection: my life is  
“ still entirely devoted to him. I shall never enjoy  
“ any happiness but near his august person.

“ In the unfortunate state of penury to which  
“ you are all reduced, I should have most ardently  
“ wished to leave behind me some of my wife’s  
“ diamonds . . . . a necklace . . . . the widow’s  
“ mite! But how shall I venture to offer it? . . . .  
“ I have often made the offer of the four thousand  
“ louis which I possess in England at my disposal,  
“ that offer I now again renew; my position what-  
“ ever it be, cannot produce any alteration in my  
“ intention. I shall henceforward be proud to be

“in want! Once more, Sir, assure the Emperor  
“of my entire devotion to his person, of my fide-  
“lity, and unshaken constancy. . . .

“And you, my dear companions of Longwood,  
“let me ever live in your recollection! I know  
“the privations and afflictions to which you are  
“exposed; and my heart bleeds for you. With  
“you I was of little importance; far from you, you  
“shall know my zeal and my tender solicitude, if  
“they have humanity enough to allow me to exer-  
“cise them. I embrace you all very affectionately,  
“and request you will add for yourself, Sir, the  
“assurance of my respect and consideration.

“P. S. This letter has been ready for you some  
“time; it was written at the time I thought I  
“was going to be removed hence. To-day the  
“Governor, in giving me permission to send it to  
“you, informs me that I am to wait here, until  
“answers shall have arrived from England. Thus  
“I shall be for months together at St. Helena, and  
“Longwood will not exist for me; a new species  
“of torment which I had not thought of!”

Sir Hudson Lowe, to whom I delivered this letter open, for such was his condition, read it, approved it, and was kind enough to undertake to deliver it himself, a circumstance which had the effect of exciting the Emperor's attention, and which contributed, in a great measure, though indirectly, to cause the deposit to be restored to Napoleon.

*My personal Subjects of Complaint against Sir Hudson Lowe.—Characteristic Features.*

7th to 9th.—The other day I invited the officer on duty to dine with me. In the course of conversation he told me that he had been a prisoner at Verdun for a long time; but had at last obtained permission to be removed to Paris. Observe the caprice of chance; when he named the person at Paris through whose medium he had applied, it turned out that it was precisely myself who had asked of the Duke de Feltre, that favour which at that time was most difficult to be obtained.

Our situation here still offers the same uniformity; no appearance of our approaching towards any result whatever; it is now almost a fortnight since the unfortunate event took place, and we are still in the same state of seclusion, exposed to the same restrictions, the same torments!

We seldom received any news of the Emperor, and then only through the Governor himself. Our prison was situated, as I have said before, precisely opposite to, and at no great distance from Longwood, from which we were only separated by precipices. Whenever we raised our eyes, we saw before us that object of our thoughts and wishes, and we were for ever turning them towards it. We could follow the daily avocations of its inhabitants, which were so familiar to us; we could see every house belonging to it, but we could not possibly

distinguish any living object. This constant attraction constantly opposed, this proximity and at the same time this great distance, this object of our wishes for ever present, and, as it were, for ever withdrawn from us, all this together formed something like the hell of the ancients. Sir Hudson Lowe admitted the justice of this observation, and had immediately promised on the first day of our confinement, that he would soon remove us from this spot. He said we were only there temporarily, and until some other more convenient place which was already in preparation, was ready for us. But weeks had elapsed and no removal took place. Sir Hudson Lowe, who is extremely prompt in adopting a noxious measure, is extremely slow in repealing it; if indeed he ever does repeal it, and which was not the case in the present instance. Yet, I must confess, that this Governor, since he has had me in his power, has behaved towards me with the utmost politeness, and the most marked attention. I have seen him go himself, and remove a sentry, which might, he said, have offended my sight, to place him behind some trees, in order that I might no longer see him. All his views, his real intentions, he assured me, were of the most benevolent kind, and his language was of a nature to convince me of the truth of this assertion; so much so that I have been more than once inclined to doubt the justice of the opinion we had hitherto formed of him. But in the end I have always been

obliged to remain satisfied that Sir Hudson Lowe's actions differed strangely from his words: that he spoke in one way and acted in another. I have read, for instance, in Mr. O'Meara's work, that precisely at this very time, when I thought myself so high in his favour, when I was in some degree reproaching myself with the kind of aversion I entertained for him, he was conveying to Napoleon through the medium of the Doctor, confessions invented by himself, which he declared he had elicited from me by word of mouth, or had under my own hand; actuated no doubt by the hopes of obtaining, in return, from Longwood, some information which he might turn to account. Amongst other things, he said that I had confessed to him that he had not given us any just cause of complaint, but that we had agreed amongst ourselves, to misrepresent every thing to the Emperor, in order to keep him in a state of exasperation. What unworthy means! What base resources! . . . I might add much more; but every thing must give way before the following *trait*, which will supersede the necessity of any further instances. My son continued to be extremely ill; the palpitations he experienced were sometimes so violent, that he would suddenly throw himself off his bed to pace the room with rapid strides, or come and fall into my arms, where he seemed in danger of expiring. Dr. Baxter, senior medical officer of the island, and an inmate of Government house,

came, with a degree of politeness of which I preserve the recollection with a sincere feeling of gratitude, to add his cares to those of Mr. O'Meara. They both represented to Sir Hudson Lowe the critical state of my son, and warmly supported my request that he might be sent to Europe. Dr. O'Meara having after a fresh crisis renewed the subject alone, Sir Hudson Lowe put an end to his importunities by the following words, which Mr. O'Meara has since repeated to my son and to myself: "*Well, Sir! after all, what matters the death of a child, in a case of politics?*" . . . I abstain from all comments; I hand over the naked phrase to every paternal heart, and to all mothers!

*The famous Clandestine Document.—My Interrogatory by Sir Hudson Lowe.*

10th to 15th.—The Governor, in his frequent visits, which he almost daily repeated, would often, for some motive or another, renew his search amongst my various papers. I always assented with the greatest readiness; in so doing, I had at heart to prove to him my complaisance and moderation, and for this I certainly obtained some flattering words, but never the smallest act of accommodation. As he was rummaging these parcels on one occasion, two bundles were left by accident on the outside of the trunk which contained them. I felt a malicious pleasure in returning them to him the next morning. He was much astonished; one

would have thought that he would have left them with me ; but he locked them up very carefully, and this he said for the sake of strict regularity, although I assured him it was unnecessary, and observed to him, laughing, that he might well suppose that if it had been of consequence to withdraw any of those papers, he would not have found them in the bundles. I had already had occasion on the first day to point out to him that they had forgotten to seal up my portfolio when it was seized at Longwood: he admitted there had been great irregularity in this respect, and expressed that he duly appreciated the circumstance of my mentioning the fact merely in the way of a simple observation ; I had indeed no other object than to shew him very clearly how incapable I was of taking advantage of every occasion he offered me to quarrel with him ; but I repeat it, these acts of civility on my part never procured me in return any thing from him beyond a few words, not a single act of kindness.

A register was made of all letters from my London friends, in order to ascertain in the public offices whether any had arrived by indirect modes of conveyance. I had commenced a second letter to Prince Lucien ; the Governor laid particular stress upon it. It was in vain I represented to him that it was full of erasures, and crowded with pencil notes almost effaced ; that it had not been written, and did not therefore exist in reality ; that

I might disown it without scruple; that it was impossible to make any *legal or honest* use of it: he persisted in having some parts of the letter re-copied; God knows for what purpose!

He was much puzzled by a note of the Lieutenant-Governor's lady. On quitting St. Helena for England, she had told us that the law forbade her taking charge of any letter; but that she would have great pleasure in being useful to us in any other way. I had sent to her, for my London friends, some objects which had been used by the Emperor, or had come from himself. A small silver inkstand, I believe, some words in his handwriting, perhaps some of his hair; I know not what. These I called precious relics. Mrs. Skelton had replied that she would treat them with all the respect they deserved, but that she must confess to me she had not been able to resist the temptation of taking a small portion of them.

Sir Hudson Lowe could not account for my being either unable or unwilling to state what those precious objects were. I should be mortified if they should have brought any disagreeable consequences on this lady. I had merely kept the note in memory, and in token of respect for her. Mr. and Mrs. Skelton were a moral and virtuous couple, whom we had much injured, though undoubtedly against our wish; but their politeness and attention to us had constantly increased with the harm we did them. Our arrival in the island



had caused their being dispossessed of Longwood, losing their situation, and being sent back to Europe, where they must be without any fortune.

At last, after a time, the famous clandestine documents came out in their turn: my letter to Prince Lucien, and the one to my London acquaintance. Sir Hudson Lowe had caused them to be carefully recopied, but with many chasms, from not having been able to read all, certain words being found effaced upon the satin, owing to the documents having been accidentally wetted since I had parted with them. I carried my complaisance and good nature so far as to restore them; and then a sort of interrogatory commenced.

The Governor's attention was much engaged by two points which he had quite at heart to clear up, if, he said, I had no objection to it. The first question was relative to these words of my letter to Prince Lucien: "Those who surround us complain bitterly that their letters are falsified in the public papers," &c. It was asked of me who these persons were. The Aide-de-camp held his pen to take down my answers. I desired he would write, that seeing no inconvenience in answering, I would do so, but entirely of my own accord; for that if the Governor thought to question, by virtue of his authority, I should be silent; and I then said, "that those words of my letter were vague, general, and without any application whatever; that they were what had been said to us by every

“ one, when they sought to console us for the  
“ very improper expressions or descriptions re-  
“ garding us, which we occasionally found in the  
“ London papers, under the date of St. Helena ;  
“ that I just recollected a particular instance of  
“ this, in a lady belonging to the camp, and known  
“ to him, who declared openly that she had not  
“ written the ridiculous letter which had appeared  
“ under her name, and that either her friends in  
“ England had made alterations in that letter, or it  
“ had been read in company, imperfectly retained,  
“ and incorrectly sent to the press.”

The Governor's second question applied to my private letter. It contained, amongst others, a request to ask Lord Holland whether he had received the parcels I had directed to him. Sir Hudson Lowe inquired what those parcels were, and by whom I had forwarded them, &c.; and here he visibly redoubled the mildness of his deportment, in order to obtain a satisfactory answer, confessing that he had no right to compel me to reply ; but it would be, he said, the means of materially expediting and simplifying my own affairs, &c. &c. I replied rather in a solemn manner, that this point was my *secret*, which evidently created an impression upon the physiognomy of Sir Hudson Lowe ; and my words being taken down as I uttered them, I continued to dictate, adding that the answer I had just given, was only that which my education and habits prompted me to

give, that any other might have given rise to the Governor's doubts, and that it was not proper I should expose the veracity of my words to the smallest suspicion; that after this preliminary statement however, I had no longer any objection to declare that I never, in all my life, had any communication with Lord Holland. This unexpected conclusion was a *coup de théâtre*, quite a comedy-scene; it were difficult to describe the surprise of the Governor, the astonishment of the officers; the pen stopped in the writer's hand. Sir Hudson Lowe did not hesitate to reply that he fully believed me, but that he must confess he could not understand the business at all. I confessed in my turn, that I could not help laughing at the perplexity I caused him, but that I had told him all. The fact is, I had intended, when my servant should return, to intrust him besides with several authentic documents upon our situation, for Lord Holland: but I had not been allowed time for so doing; they had too soon come to take me away. I had the honour of knowing his Lordship only by the nobleness and dignity of his public conduct; but to transmit the truth to him, as an hereditary legislator of his country, and a member of the supreme court of Great Britain, appeared to me very proper in us both, and equally becoming and serviceable to the honour of the British character.

*My Anxieties.—A Letter from the Emperor, a real Blessing.*

16th.—More than twenty days had elapsed, and nothing as yet announced any change in our dreadful situation. My son's illness continued to shew the most alarming symptoms; my health was visibly wearing away through grief and anxiety. Our confinement was so strict, that we had not yet learnt a single word from Longwood; I was quite ignorant how my unfortunate affair had been interpreted there; I had merely learnt that the Emperor had not left his apartment during the last fifteen or eighteen days, and had almost always taken his meals there alone. What did I not suffer from these circumstances! The Emperor had evidently been affected, but in what manner? Shall I own it, this doubt was, to me, a source of absolute torment; it haunted me at every moment since I had quitted Longwood; for the Emperor was perfectly ignorant of the cause of my being carried off; fate had so ordained it. What would he have thought, on hearing about my clandestine letters? What would have been his opinions, what motive would he assign to my disguise towards him; I, who from habit, would not have stirred a step, or hazarded an expression, without communicating with him? I coupled these faults, which I even exaggerated, with the affecting kindness of the last moments I had passed with him. Some mi-

minutes before I was torn away from him, he was more cheerful towards me, seemed even better disposed than usual; and some moments later, he had perhaps been led to find something mysterious in my conduct. The appearance of the right of reproach and of doubt, had perhaps already risen in his mind. This idea grieved me more than I could express, and visibly affected my health. Fortunately, the Governor came to restore me to life. He presented himself towards evening, appearing much taken up with what he had to tell me, and after a long preamble, which it was difficult for me to understand, he concluded by informing me, that he held in his hand a letter, which my situation gave him the right to withhold from me; but that he knew how dear to me was the hand that wrote it, how much I valued the sentiments which it expressed, and that he was, therefore, going to shew it to me, notwithstanding the many personal motives he might have for not doing so! It was a letter from the Emperor!

Whatever harm Sir Hudson Lowe may have done to us, whatever his motives may have been, at this moment, I owe him a real obligation for the happiness he afforded me; and when I recollect it, I am tempted to reproach myself for many details and certain imputations; but I owed them to truth, and to considerations of the highest importance. I shewed myself so much affected, that he appeared to be moved by it, and consented to

my request of being allowed to take a copy of what was strictly personal in the letter. My son copied it in a hurry, so much we dreaded lest he should alter his mind; and when he left us, we re-copied it in many ways and in many places; we even learnt it by heart, so great was our fear that the night's reflections might occasion Sir Hudson Lowe to repent. And, in fact, when he reappeared the next morning, he expressed to me his regret on the subject; and I did not hesitate to offer to return to him the copy I had taken, assuring him that I should not feel the less grateful. We had ensured to ourselves the means of being generous without inconvenience. Whether he suspected that such was the case, or whether from a continuation of the same kindness, I know not; but he did not accept my offer. I shall now lay before the reader that letter, the original of which was kept by Sir Hudson Lowe, which he gave me his word should share the same fate as my other papers, and which I nevertheless, had all possible trouble to obtain, when the English Government, after Napoleon's death, thought they could not avoid restoring my Journal to me. I shall transcribe here those passages of the letter which Sir Hudson Lowe allowed me to copy at the time, and such as they were published after my return to Europe; those parts which he kept back are thrown into the notes, at the bottom of the pages: the two together will form the whole of the original.

“ My dear Count de Las Cases,—My heart is deeply affected by what you now experience. Torn from me a fortnight ago, you have been ever since closely confined, without the possibility of my receiving any news from you, or sending you any; without having had any communication with any person, either French or English; deprived even of the attendance of a servant of your own choice.

“ Your conduct at St. Helena has been, like the whole of your life, honourable and irreproachable; I have pleasure in giving you this testimony.

“ Your letter to one of your friends in London contains nothing reprehensible; you merely unburden your heart in the bosom of friendship.

*[Half the letter was wanting here.\*]*

“ Your company was necessary to me. You are the only one that can read, speak, and understand English. How many nights you have watched over me during my illnesses! However, I ad-

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\* “ This letter is similar to eight or ten others, which you have written to the same person, and which you have sent unsealed. The Governor having had the indelicacy to pry into the expressions which you confide to friendship, has latterly reproached you with them, threatening to send you out of the island, if your letters continued to be the bearers of complaints against him. He has thus violated the first duty of his situation, the first article of his instructions, the first sentiment of honour; he has thus authorized you to seek for means to open your heart to your friends, and inform them of the guilty conduct of this

wise you, and if necessary, I order you, to demand of the Governor of this country to send you to the Continent ; he cannot refuse, since he has no power

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Governor. But you have been very simple ; your confidence has been easily beguiled !

“ A pretext was wanting to seize upon your papers ; but your letter to your friend in London, could not authorize a visit from the police to you ; since it contained no plot, no mystery ; since it was only the expression of a heart noble and sincere. The illegal and precipitate conduct observed on this occasion, bears the stamp of a base feeling of personal animosity.

“ In countries the least civilized, exiles, prisoners, and even criminals, are under the protection of the laws and of the magistrates ; those persons who are intrusted with the keeping of them, have superior officers in the administration, who watch over them. On this rock, the man who makes the most absurd regulations, executes them with violence, and transgresses all laws ; there is nobody to check the outrages of his passions.

“ The Prince Regent can never be informed of the acts carried on under his name ; they have refused to forward my letters to him, they have, in a violent manner, sent back the complaints made by Count Montholon ; and Count Bertrand has since been informed, that no letters would be received if they continued to be libellous as they had hitherto been.

“ Longwood is surrounded by a mystery which it is sought to render impenetrable, in order to conceal a guilty line of conduct which is calculated to create a suspicion of the most criminal intentions!!!

“ By reports insidiously circulated, it is endeavoured to deceive the officers, the travellers, the inhabitants, of this island, and even the agents which, it is said, Austria and Russia have sent here. No doubt the English Government is deceived, in like manner, by artful and false representations.

“ They have seized your papers, amongst which, they know



over you, but by virtue of the act which you have voluntarily signed. It will be a great source of consolation to me, to know that you are on your way to more favoured climes.

“ Once in Europe, whether you proceed to England or return home, endeavour to forget the evils which you have been made to suffer ; and boast of the fidelity which you have shewn towards me, and of all the affection I feel for you.

“ If you should, some day or other, see my wife and son, embrace them for me ; for the last two years, I have had no news from them, either directly or indirectly.

*[Three or four lines were wanting here.\*]*

“ In the mean time be comforted, and console my friends. My body, it is true, is exposed to the hatred of my enemies ; they omit nothing that can contribute to satisfy their vengeance ; they

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there were some belonging to me, without the least formality, in the room next to mine, with a ferocious *eclat* and manifestation of joy. I was informed of it a few moments afterwards, and looked from the window, when I saw that they were hurrying you away. A numerous staff was prancing round the house ; methought I saw the inhabitants of the Pacific ocean dancing round the prisoner they are about to devour.”

\* “ There is in this country a German botanist, who has been here for the last six months, and who saw them in the gardens of Schoenbrun, a few months before his departure. The barbarians have carefully prevented him from coming to give me any news respecting them.”

make me suffer the protracted tortures of a slow death ; but Providence is too just to allow these sufferings to last much longer. The insalubrity of this dreadful climate, the want of every thing that tends to support life, will soon, I feel, put an end to my existence.

[*Four or five lines were wanting here.\**]

“ As there is every reason to suppose that you will not be allowed to come and see me before your departure, receive my embrace, and the assurance of my friendship. May you be happy.

“ Yours,

“ NAPOLEON.”

“ *Longwood, 11th December, 1816.*”

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\* “ The last moments of which will be an opprobrium to the English name ; and Europe will one day stigmatize with horror that perfidious and wicked man ; all true Englishmen will disown him as a Briton.”

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END OF THE SEVENTH PART.

MY RESIDENCE  
WITH  
THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON  
AT ST. HELENA.

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[CONTINUATION FROM BALCOMBE'S COTTAGE.]

*Reflections on the Emperor's Letter.—New Obstacles started  
by Sir Hudson Lowe.*

FROM Tuesday, Dec. 17th, to Thursday 19th, 1816.—The Emperor's letter proved a source of real consolation to me. It was continually present in my thoughts: it dissipated my alarms, strengthened my resolution, and in short it rendered me truly happy. I read it carefully over and over again. I weighed every word it contained. From my own knowledge of the Emperor, I thought I could guess how he had been induced to write it. I could conceive what would be his uneasiness respecting the cause of my removal, and his surprise on hearing of the clandestine correspondence. From his constant habit of considering things in every possible point of view, I felt convinced that his penetration had enabled him to discover precisely what had taken place, and that he had determined to write to me in consequence. My

conjectures on all these points proved to be correct; for I afterwards learned that the Emperor, after some delay, had determined to write to me, without knowing what might be the nature of the papers which had caused my arrest.

Need I say how dearly I prized this letter! I who had so frequently heard the Emperor declare that he would not write to his wife, his mother, or his brothers, since he could not do so without having his letters opened and read by his jailers. But my letter had been opened with his own consent and with his own hands; for, after it was sent to Sir Hudson Lowe by the officer on guard, it was returned with the observation, that it could not be delivered to me until it should be read and approved by the Governor. The Emperor was reclining on his sofa at the moment when the letter was brought back to him, with this new obstacle. He uttered not a word, but raising his hand over his head, he took the letter, broke the seal, and immediately returned it, without even looking at the person who had presented it.

Another circumstance which rendered this letter valuable in my eyes, was that it bore the Emperor's full signature; and I knew how much he disliked to sign his name at length, in the new circumstances in which he was placed. This, I believe, was the first time he had signed his name at full length since he had been at St. Helena, and from an inspection of the original, it is easy to perceive

that it cost him some degree of consideration. At first he wrote with his own hand, merely the date : “ *Longwood, December 11, 1816,*” concluding with his usual cipher. But conceiving this to be insufficient, he added, lower down : “ *your devoted, Napoleon,*” repeating his cipher. The whole bears evident traces of having been written under feelings of embarrassment.\*

But the greatest satisfaction which the Emperor's letter afforded me, was that it pointed out precisely the course which I had previously determined on adopting. “ I *entreat* you, and in case of urgency, I *command* you, to quit the island,” said the Emperor ; and this was exactly what I had resolved to do, during the first days of my seclusion, while separated from all my friends, and having no counsellor but myself. I can no longer, I thought, be of any great service to the Emperor here ; but I may, perhaps, be useful to him elsewhere. I will go to England, and appeal to the Ministers. They cannot suspect my conduct to be premeditated ; seeing that I have been snatched, as it were, from sudden death. Whatever I say, will evidently come from my heart. I will paint the truth, and they cannot but be touched with the

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\* This letter was written by one of Napoleon's suite ; but the Emperor himself, with his own hand, marked the punctuation. I have mentioned in a former part of my Journal, that in his writing, the Emperor was perfectly careless of orthography ; yet it is singular that in the letter here alluded to, he has himself corrected the slightest errors.

miseries I shall unfold to them. They will ameliorate the condition of the illustrious captive, and I will myself return and lay at his feet the consolation which my zeal will have procured.

I therefore resumed my prayers and entreaties; and a circumstance which the more induced me to do so, was, that my son had just then been seized with a relapse, and had been for half an hour in a state of insensibility, without any other assistance than I was capable of affording him. My distress and anxiety may be easily conceived; and I was myself very much indisposed. I wrote a letter to the Governor, in which I said:—"You reduce me to the utmost possible misery. What a terrible responsibility you are taking upon yourself! You are a father; and alarms like those which now distress me, may, perhaps, one day remind you of my unavailing entreaties." It was evident, that, by detaining us, he was hurrying us to our graves. I was unable to conceive what could induce him thus to involve himself in new difficulties; it appeared to me most natural that he should prefer letting us die elsewhere.

Sir Hudson Lowe called that very day. He said, the note he had received respecting my son's health was the occasion of his visit. He had sent for Dr. Baxter, who arrived soon after him.

In the course of a long conversation, I could very well discern that Sir Hudson Lowe had now some secret object in view with respect to me. We reciprocally sounded each other on various



points ; and the Governor concluded by observing, that he could not send me back to England, because I insisted on carrying my Journal along with me ; while, on the other hand, it was claimed by the Emperor, as it had been written by his order. The cunning and absurdity of this reasoning, were sufficiently obvious. Then, as if seized by a sudden thought, and a momentary feeling of condescension, he added, that if I wished to return to Longwood, he would very willingly agree to it. I trembled to hear this. . . . However, recollecting the letter and the significant words of the Emperor, I replied, that though the idea of returning to Longwood was wholly contrary to my present intention, yet, if the Emperor expressed a desire to that effect, I should immediately change my resolution. Sir Hudson Lowe observed, that he had good reason to believe the Emperor did wish for my return. The Governor's thoughts were evidently occupied with some new scheme or other respecting me ; but I could not guess what it was. I signified that it would be necessary for me to write to Longwood, to learn what were the Emperor's wishes. To this the Governor did not positively object, but he expressed himself with the utmost obscurity. At length he departed ; at least I supposed him gone. He had, however, merely withdrawn for a time, to hold a conference with his confidential officer ; after which he came to inform me, that having considered the business,

he thought it advisable for me to write to the Grand Marshal on the subject of my return to Longwood, at the same time observing, that according to the manner in which I might express myself in my letter, the Emperor would or would not be induced to signify a wish for my return. This was very certain, and I could not but smile at the observation. Wishing to record the most important points of our long conversation, and in the hope of bringing matters to a conclusion, I addressed the following letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, immediately after he left me.

“SIR,—I recollect that during your visit to me, when speaking of the circumstances which had withheld you from coming to any determination respecting me, you observed, that one of the obstacles which prevented you from sending me to Europe, was, that my Journal, which I insisted on taking with me, had, at the same time, been claimed at Longwood. With this twofold demand, you said, it was out of your power to comply. I have no doubt, Sir, that you, in your wisdom, have had good reasons for suffering this difficulty to subsist, when you might so easily have obviated it. Every word, every hint from Longwood, is my supreme law. I should have immediately renounced my papers, on being made acquainted with the Emperor's demand; and probably that demand would have ceased, had my wish been communicated to Longwood. At all events, I shall esteem it as a

favour, if you will be pleased to convey to the Emperor my sentiments on this subject, as a mark of my profound and everlasting respect, and with the view of obviating further difficulty. The more I reflect, the more I am astonished that so simple and unimportant an affair as mine, should have given rise to so much discussion. This will only serve to encourage and to impart a greater degree of probability to the idea, that my two clandestine letters were merely the pretence, and my other papers the real, cause of your conduct: and a circumstance which will particularly prejudice your character in this affair, is the great interest which you seem to have taken in detaining my Journal, a portion of which relates to yourself personally. By refusing to send me to England, you but confirm the suspicion that you are afraid, lest your conduct here should reach the ears of your countrymen. You ought rather to have been thankful for the opportunity I should have afforded you, of solemnly proving the contrary. I should have furnished you with the means of completely clearing yourself. All this, however, belongs entirely to the jurisdiction of moral feeling and opinion. A fact that is more positive, as belonging to the direct jurisdiction of the laws, is that you kept in solitary confinement, for several months, until the return of answers which you expected from England, a man who, having withdrawn himself from his voluntary subjection to you, and formally, de-

manded leave to quit the island, reduced himself to this simple dilemma.

“ You are exercising over me an *arbitrary act*. I call upon you to observe the laws. If I am not guilty, send me away. If I am, deliver me up to justice, and let me take my trial. But you mention papers which you have in your possession. If these papers are unconnected with the matter in question, restore them to me ; if they are connected with it, consign them to my judges and me along with them. But these papers, you tell me, are claimed by another individual. I shall renounce them whenever you may make me acquainted with his wish ; or probably that individual will relinquish his claim, whenever you make him acquainted with mine. The whole business is reduced to these simple questions. However, the great object of my letter is to request that you will be pleased to convey to Longwood a new proof of my respect for the Emperor. As to writing to Longwood myself respecting the favour of returning thither as you suggested, I shall wait until I have the honour of seeing you again, before I make up my mind on the subject.

“ I remain,” &c.

*Official Decision respecting my Removal to the Cape.—Artful and ridiculous Conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe.—Letters.*

20th, 21st.—Sir Hudson Lowe, harassed by my incessant appeals to him, and perplexed by the awkward situation in which he had placed himself,

began apparently to repent of having made so much noise about so trifling a matter. He evidently wished to see me return to the Emperor, which of course would have relieved him of all embarrassment, and would have put an end to the whole business. Consequently, with the view of inducing me the more speedily to adopt this step, the Governor addressed to me the official decision respecting my removal to the Cape of Good Hope ; and this document he accompanied by a letter in which he once more mentioned, in very studied language, the facility he afforded me of returning to Longwood. I have avoided, as far as possible, inserting the documents connected with this correspondence, and have abridged several of my own letters through the fear of fatiguing the reader. However, it is proper that I should produce all that is necessary for the explanation of this affair, and I therefore subjoin the official decision, and the letter to which I have just alluded.

#### DECLARATION.

“The Governor having duly considered all the circumstances relative to the affair of Count Las Cases, has adopted the following decision :—

“Count Las Cases having committed a direct and premeditated violation of the regulations established at St. Helena, by virtue of the authority of the British Government, relative to General Bonaparte, in corrupting the fidelity of an inhabitant of

the island, so far as to render him, in a criminal and underhand way, the bearer of secret and clandestine letters for Europe ; and having thus broken one of the indispensable conditions to which he voluntarily acquiesced when he signed his declaration to obtain leave to reside at St. Helena, the said Count Las Cases has been separated from the person of General Bonaparte ; and, in conformity with the instructions of the British Government, he will be transported to the Cape of Good Hope.

“ Count Las Cases is permitted to take with him all his property and papers, excepting, however, such of the latter as may have reference to General Bonaparte, since the time he has been under the authority of the British Government, and also such correspondence as may not have passed through the official channel of the English authorities.

“ The Governor will await the orders of the British Government respecting those papers, the nature of which may be the subject of dispute.

(Signed)

“ HUDSON LOWE.”

“ *Plantation House, Dec. 20, 1816.*”

*Letter from Sir Hudson Lowe, which accompanied the preceding Document.*

“ SIR,—In communicating to you the enclosed decision, permit me to mention, what I have already stated verbally, that I shall make no objection to your remaining on the island, if you prefer

to do so, rather than proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, there to wait until I receive instructions from the British Government respecting you.

“ In case you should prefer remaining at St. Helena, I conceive it necessary to require from you a declaration, expressing your wish to that effect, and a promise to submit to the same restrictions under which you have hitherto been permitted to reside here.

“ Thus, Sir, it is entirely at your own option, either to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, or to remain here, with your papers under seal, until I shall receive instructions from Government.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

“ HUDSON LOWE.”

I immediately acknowledged the receipt of these two documents, at the same time requesting an acknowledgment of the receipt of all my letters, for as yet I had had no intimation of any one of them having been received. Wishing to reply to the Governor's offer of allowing me to return to Longwood, I instantly addressed a letter on this subject to the Grand Marshal, which I sent to Sir Hudson Lowe, in order that he might peruse it, and forward it to its destination. The following is the substance of the letter.

“ SIR,—The Governor, with great politeness and interest, has offered to permit me to return to Longwood. On my declining to avail myself of this

offer, and observing that I could not return thither, except by the express wish of the Emperor, Sir H. Lowe remarked that he had reason to believe the Emperor wished for my return. This wish, Sir, would be my supreme law: it would overwhelm my heart, and would instantly subdue the firmness with which I have resolved to endure inexpressible hardships, from respect to the laws and to my own character.

“ Meanwhile, before I receive the expression of such a wish on the part of the Emperor, which I invoke with all my heart, I shall feel happy in being enabled to make you acquainted with the motives which influenced my first refusal.

“ I therefore request that the Governor will be pleased to communicate to you my correspondence with him, dated the 30th of November, and the 2d, 4th, and 18th of December. He cannot surely object to a thing which will be satisfactory to us, and perfectly indifferent to him; for, if I return to Longwood, I shall myself have the opportunity of making you acquainted with these letters; and if I do not return, you will know their contents, it is true, but that will be a matter of little importance, since not being able to communicate together, it will be out of our power to derive any respective advantage from them. The only real result, therefore, would be the satisfaction I should enjoy in making known to you my opinions and sentiments on this occasion.



“ My gratitude would be perfect, and the generosity of the Governor complete, if he would explain to me, that my return to Longwood would be in no manner prejudicial to my interests legally considered, and would be wholly unconnected with his own : and this he might very easily do.

“ Be this as it may, Sir, all these considerations would vanish, should a single word or sign from the Emperor permit me to return to his presence, and enjoy the happiness of which I am now deprived. I shall hasten to throw myself at his feet, the moment I receive permission. All this would be only for my own gratification, it would spring entirely from my own sentiments ; but my attachment to the Emperor, and my profound respect for his wishes, are stronger than these feelings.”

It will scarcely be credited, that Sir Hudson Lowe sent back this letter. He had drawn a pencil mark across every passage to which he objected, and had reduced the whole to a few lines, thus assuming the privilege of dictating to me, what I was to write to Count Bertrand. The returned letter was accompanied by the following communication, which the Governor observed would serve as an answer to all my preceding correspondence :—

“ SIR,—I consider the letter and decision which I had the honour to address to you yesterday, as a general answer to the different arguments contained in your correspondence with me.

“ It was, Sir, the state of your son’s health, and the complication of troubles, mental and bodily, so forcibly described in your letters of the 6th and 7th instant, which induced me, on the receipt of the letter, to wait upon you in person, and offer you permission to return to Longwood, where you might constantly procure medical aid, of the want of which I have never heard any complaint during the whole time of your residence there.

“ A sentiment of consideration for the individual from whom you have been separated, also influences me in making this offer.

“ I cannot, however, consent to become the medium of any discussion or negotiation which you may wish to maintain on this subject, with the individuals at Longwood. The only communication which I can authorize, will be that for the purpose of ascertaining whether your return be wished for, on the conditions attached to the prolongation of your residence on the island, such as I expressed them to you in my letter of yesterday. Communications on this point, with a brief summary to the General, are all that I can take upon me to transmit.

“ The permission of returning to Longwood, implies the necessity of a candid explanation on every point.

“ In case you should not return, I conceive that to render myself the channel of a prolonged correspondence on the subject in question, would be

a fresh ground of irritation and inconvenience to all parties.

“ A great variety of details, entirely personal and foreign to the question, which are contained in your different letters, do not appear to me to require any official reply. These letters are at the same time, so mingled up with matter that may be considered as bearing an official character, that one cannot remain unanswered any more than another.

“ To enter into so many minute particulars, would require more leisure than a multiplicity of other business will permit me to devote to such a purpose. I am at present putting together some observations on the whole of your correspondence, and I will send you a copy of them when finished.\* I may even communicate them to Longwood. In the mean while the decision, which I have sent you, and the letter by which it was accompanied, must serve as a reply to all your communications.

“ I return your letter, addressed to Count Bertrand. I have underlined several passages, which appear to me to be very much out of place, or which it would at least be useless to communicate.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

“ H. LOWE.”

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\* Count Las Cases never heard any thing more of these observations. Not a single line was ever communicated to him on the subject.

*Correspondence continued.—The Governor disconcerted by my final Determination.*

22d, 23d.—The Governor came to ascertain the effect of his declaration and his two letters. He doubted not but they had produced a great impression, and he calculated on finding my letter to the Grand Marshal ready written, with the corrections he had suggested; which communication, he expected, would bring about my return to Longwood. But I coolly informed him, that since he had taken upon himself to dictate to me, I would not write at all. At this, he appeared surprised and disconcerted, and after some reflection, he went so far as to inquire whether the corrections which he had made, were the only obstacles that deterred me. This unusual condescension on his part, was a sufficient guide for me. I therefore continued firm; and cut the matter short by observing, that in the evening, he should receive from me my irrevocable determination, and the reasons on which it was grounded, together with my remarks on the different letters which he had addressed to me. I wished, by this means, to avoid fugitive verbal observations, which are always easily denied. I preferred recording on paper, what I had to say. My letter was as follows:—

“SIR,—You have sent back to me, with your corrections, the letter which I wrote to Count Bertrand, respecting your verbal offer of granting me

permission to return to Longwood. But as it almost always happens here, this offer was sincere only in appearance, and it was doomed to expire in the details of its execution. I was not much surprised at this. After your departure the other day, when I came to reflect on the offer you had made, I foresaw that the matter would terminate as it really has done. You had the candour to tell me that you could not permit me and the individuals at Longwood to combine our ideas ; or, in other words, to ascertain our *real wishes*. You have, doubtless, very good reasons for this. I say nothing against it ; only I cannot suffer myself to be duped, or to be the means of leading into error those who take an interest in my fate. You are too advantageously situated, Sir, between Longwood and me ; and if I must write to Count Bertrand, not my own sentiments, but what you may think proper to dictate, I decline holding any communication with him. I shall regard your offer as never having been made, because it cannot possibly be accepted ; and I must refer irrevocably for my thoughts, sentiments, and decisions on this subject, to my letter of the 30th of November.

“ You mistake, Sir, if you suppose that I wished for answers to all the arguments and articles contained in my letters. I am aware of the importance of your occupations, and the value of your time, and therefore I merely requested an acknowledgment of the receipt of my letters for the sake

of regularity. I presumed you could have no reason to refuse this.

“ You seem surprised, Sir, at the deplorable state of my own and my son’s health ; and you twice express astonishment that I should not have complained to you on the subject, when I was at Longwood. I thought but little about my health, Sir, when I was at Longwood ; and besides, when I felt indisposed, I considered it more advisable to complain to the Doctor than to the Governor. With regard to my son, I am surprised you should have heard nothing of his situation, considering the consultations that have been held on his case, the fits he has suffered, and the many times he has been bled. Is it to be wondered at if our present circumstances increase our infirmities ?

“ I now come to your order for my removal to the Cape. I find that all the papers which have any reference to the august individual to whom I have devoted my existence, are to be detained. What other papers, Sir, can I be possessed of ? What is meant by saying that I am free to carry away all the rest ? Is not this making an offer, and yet granting nothing ?

“ You detain my Journal, the sole and real object of all this misunderstanding ; the depository, yet incomplete and incorrect, in which I daily registered all that I thought, saw, or heard. Can any of my papers be more valuable to me than this ? You cannot pretend to have been ignorant of its

contents, since I suffered you to peruse it for two hours at your own discretion. Will you not be responsible for having abused this privilege? Will you not, perhaps, one day have to justify yourself for the false notions which you have doubtless transmitted to the English Ministers respecting this manuscript? You have called it a *Political Journal*. I had no right, you have observed, in the situation in which I was placed, to keep any account of what was said by the Emperor Napoleon, and you particularly object to my having introduced official documents into my Journal. As if all that I saw, read, and heard, did not by right, and without impropriety, belong to my own thoughts, and form a part of my own property, so long as the record was kept private and secret! Who would suppose that such principles could have been imbibed amidst the liberal ideas of England? Do they not rather partake of the odious police maxims of the continent? And after all, what are the contents of this Journal? It describes the sublime language and conduct of the august individual who is the object of it, the incidents of his life, and also many things which are probably not very agreeable to you! But who will have given publicity to these facts? The whole was to have been retouched, altered, and corrected. Who has prevented this? However, Sir, you may rest assured, that the circumstances which have just taken place, shall never induce me

to say any thing concerning you, which I do not firmly believe to be true.

“In your decision of the 20th of October, you declare that I shall be removed from Longwood, and sent to the Cape of Good Hope. From the form and language of this decision, it might naturally be supposed, that it was hostile to my wishes; while, in reality, you thereby pronounce a sentence, which is now, and has been for many days past, foreign to the new question that has risen up between us. You remove from Longwood one, who, twenty days ago, withdrew from the subjection to your authority, in which he had voluntarily placed himself; and who, for the last eighteen days, has been formally demanding his removal from the island. Who would ever guess these facts, from a perusal of your document? You enclose your decision in a letter, in which you leave me the choice of submitting to your sentence or returning to Longwood. But by embracing the happiness which you thus hold out to me, I should secure to you the triumph and satisfaction of being master of my most private papers; I should again become your captive, and should be liable to the same searches and seizures, whenever you might be pleased to make them. . . . No, Sir! I can make no choice. I can only repeat what I have already said before. I resign myself to the laws. If I am guilty, let me be tried; if I am not guilty, restore me to liberty. If my papers are uncon-



nected with this affair, return them to me. If you think it proper to submit them to serious examination, transmit them to the English Ministers, and let me be sent with them. Besides, as my own and my son's health imperiously require every kind of medical assistance, I earnestly implore you to send us to England.

“ Nothing was more simple than this affair, and yet it has been involved in difficulty. In vain you refer to your instructions; they never can be made to apply to cases so peculiar as this. Your own wavering determination proves to me that your instructions are neither clear nor precise. You wished at first to keep me on the island in solitary confinement, and separated from Longwood; you did not think it right to send me to the Cape. You now torture the literal meaning of your instructions, in order to give them a forced interpretation. But recollect that you will be held responsible to your Government for having misconstrued them, and to me for having violated the law in my person. Recollect that most of your measures will ultimately appear to have been vexatious and arbitrary acts. I know not what rights, what resources your laws will afford me; but I slumber in this ignorance; for I trust they will protect me in some way or other. You expect to be rid of me when I shall be removed to the Cape, separated from my papers, which you intend to detain in your possession. But even should I be kept a prisoner

there, the winds shall waft my complaints hitherward. I will make known the mental wounds and bodily sufferings, which you will thus have been the means of aggravating ; for if I should be detained at the Cape, it must be through you, either by your direct orders or secret instructions. Sealed papers cannot be opened except in the presence of the party interested. Will you have me brought back from the Cape, for the purpose of breaking the seals that are affixed to mine ? Or will you detain me at the Cape until you receive orders to send my papers to England ? What object is to be gained by all this ? There was, and still is, a simple mode of arranging every thing ! My natural disposition to accommodate, made me, as it were, anticipate every difficulty. I was ready to obviate all. I would willingly have subjected myself in England to any preliminary measures, however arbitrary, that might have been equivalent to the quarantine of the Cape. The state of my own and my son's health was a valid reason for to doing.

“ The fear of departing from the literal meaning of any particular point in your instructions, has, with you, been more powerful than the necessity and the right of yielding to their spirit, to the force of circumstance, and the feelings of humanity. It is not yet too late to grant what I solicit. I am willing to believe that humanity will determine you ; and if so I shall remain your debtor. The circumstance of the papers being claimed at Long-

wood and by me, cannot be regarded as a reasonable obstacle. Besides, it may be asked what you have done to remove it? Do you wish that I should myself write on the subject? Three words would suffice to bring us to an understanding.

“ At all events, Sir, whatever determination you may come to; whatever vexation you may reserve for me, nothing can be comparable to what I suffer in being detained on this horrible island, separated from the august individual whom I followed hither. The hours and minutes that I pass in this situation, are like years in my unfortunate life, and dangerously aggravate my son’s precarious state of health. I therefore again demand, and shall incessantly demand, that you will remove me from this hated place. I am,” &c.

The Governor was very much vexed by my determination of not returning to Longwood, though I could not exactly guess the reason why. However, my resolution was fully confirmed on the following day, when he came to me, and after a long and very obscure preamble, respecting his sincerity and good intentions, he told me that to facilitate my communication with Longwood, he would consent to forward my first letter to Count Bertrand, in the form in which I had myself written it; and moreover to send along with it a copy of all my correspondence; a thing which he had hitherto constantly refused to do. But the more he made concessions, the more firmly I rejected

them :—" 'Tis too late," said I, " the die is cast. " I have pronounced sentence upon myself. I will " not write to Longwood, and I demand for the " hundredth time, that you will remove me hence " without further delay."—" At least, then," said the Governor, " will you communicate to Long- " wood my offers and your refusal."—" I have no " objection to do that," I replied. Sir Hudson Lowe then departed, very much disconcerted, mentioning as a last inducement, that he could only send us away on board a transport, that he did not know when the vessel might sail, and that there was no medical man on board, which would be a serious inconvenience, considering the state of my son's health.

*Our Removal from Balcombe's Cottage to the Town.*

24th.—My son was exceedingly ill during the night, and I was myself very much indisposed. At daybreak I sent to request the immediate attendance of Doctors Baxter and O'Meara ; and in the extremity of my despair, I also wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe, assuring him it was impossible we could longer endure the treatment we were now suffering. I reminded him that, in spite of my son's dangerous condition, it was now more than seven days since we had seen a medical attendant ; and that owing to our inconvenient situation, the Doctors, in spite of their good intentions, found it impossible to visit us. I therefore urged the ne-

cessity of our quitting the cottage without delay: and I begged that we might be conveyed to the town, even to the common jail, if he found it necessary. This letter produced an immediate effect. I received, on the return of the orderly, a note from the Governor, stating that I should that day be conveyed to his own residence in the town. In the evening an officer came to conduct us thither. How anxiously did we turn our eyes towards Longwood at the moment of departure! What were our thoughts and sensations as we proceeded along the road! What a wound was inflicted on my heart when, for the last time, I turned to look on Longwood, and saw it gradually disappear from my eyes!

*Our Residence at the Governor's Castle.—Better Treatment, &c.*

25th to 28th.—We now found ourselves removed to the Governor's residence, which is called the Castle. It is a spacious building, and agreeably situated. Our condition was now changed very much for the better. We were still guarded by sentinels, it is true; but every thing was under my orders, and there seemed to be an endeavour to furnish us profusely with every thing. "Do not spare," the major-domo often repeated, "the honourable East India Company pays for all." But these tardy attentions produced little effect upon me. I had but one object in view, namely, a prompt decision, and

that I could not obtain. The Governor came to me every day, but it was merely to utter a few complimentary phrases, and not a word of my affairs. However, it was now indispensable to come to the point. The endless difficulties that had arisen, and my endeavours to avert them, had kept me in a continual state of agitation; and vexation of mind was combined with grief of heart. This complication of misery had wrought a kind of revolution in my whole frame. I suddenly felt myself ten years older, and experienced the first symptoms of those infirmities, which have ever since been daily increasing, and which will only terminate with my life.

I was absolutely in a critical state when I arrived in the town. The Governor was struck with my extreme debility and the change that had taken place in my appearance. I was scarcely able to maintain the conversation. Apparently with the intention of rousing me, Sir Hudson Lowe mentioned that the Emperor had expressed a very great wish to see me before my departure. On hearing this, I was deeply moved; tears flowed from my eyes, and I was so incapable of bearing this violent emotion that I nearly fainted. My son afterwards informed me that the Governor appeared very much embarrassed by the condition to which he saw me reduced. However, making an effort to collect my strength, I once more begged that Sir Hudson Lowe would give orders for my re-

moval as speedily as possible. He at length determined that my departure should take place two days afterwards. He informed me that he had procured a ship of war, which would be more suitable for my conveyance, while at the same time I should enjoy the advantage of having a medical attendant on board.

*The Emperor's Message to me.—The Grand Marshal's Farewell.*

29th.—Early this morning an officer came to request that we would pack up our things to be conveyed on board the ship, as it was determined we should depart very shortly. This we looked upon as the hour of our deliverance. In a few minutes, all that we possessed was packed up, and and we were in perfect readiness. At length the wished-for moment of departure was at hand. How our sentiments vary according to the circumstances in which we happen to be placed. But a short time ago I should have considered it the greatest misfortune that could befall me to have been separated from the Emperor, and removed from St. Helena. But my late resolutions, the manifest wish of Sir Hudson Lowe, the positive words of the Emperor: "*I request you, and in case of need, I command you, to quit this island;*" together with other important observations which fell from him in the course of previous conversation, and which I cannot hint at here, though they

are entirely foreign to politics; and finally, the chimeras which my own imagination had conjured up; all now caused me to dread the thought of being longer detained. The hour of departure had already been specified, yet I nevertheless experienced the most cruel suspense, which the Governor seemed to justify by keeping away nearly the whole of the day. Impatience and anxiety had thrown me into a fever; when, about six o'clock in the evening, the Governor, whom I now despaired of seeing, made his appearance. After a little preamble in his usual way, he informed me that he had brought the Grand Marshal to take leave of me, and he conducted me into the adjoining apartment where I had the happiness of embracing that esteemed companion of my exile. The Emperor had instructed the Grand Marshal to tell me that "he should see me desert with pleasure, and see me remain with pleasure." These were his words. He added, that he knew my heart, and my sentiments; and that he reposed full and entire confidence in me. As to the chapters of the Campaign of Italy, which I had requested permission to keep as a dear and precious memento, he granted them without hesitation, as well as any thing else that might happen to be in my possession; for he was pleased to say that, while they were in my hands he should consider them as being still in his own. Sir Hudson Lowe was with us during this interview, at which



his presence was indispensable. The Grand Marshal commissioned me to make some purchases of books, and other things necessary or useful to the Emperor, and he particularly requested me to send the Moniteurs. Finally, he took leave of me, telling me significantly to act in all things as I should judge best.

As I expected, the friendship of the Grand Marshal served only to increase my distress. He expressed his regret for my departure, and tried to suggest reasons for inducing me to remain. "His absence," said he, in a very graceful manner, addressing himself to the Governor, "will be regretted by us all. It will be a loss to the Emperor, and it will even be a loss to you, Sir Hudson Lowe. You will soon be convinced of this." The Governor replied by an approving bow; and both endeavoured to prevail on me to change my resolution. I could easily guess the Governor's reasons for this; but I could not so well divine the cause of the Grand Marshal's entreaties, particularly after the message which he had just delivered to me from the Emperor. Besides, he was aware that, in addition to the numerous powerful motives which urged me to depart, Sir Hudson Lowe, as I believe I have already mentioned, offered not the least concession on his part. He insisted on retaining my papers, and required my implicit submission. By this means, I should, as it were, have legalized all his measures. By the

precedent thus granted, I should have authorized him to seize and imprison any one of us, whenever he might take a fancy to do so. I could not, without the Emperor's express command, submit to such outrages; and, therefore, I firmly resisted them.

It was now late in the evening, and as our final arrangements were not yet completed, the Governor postponed our departure until the following day. He saw that I was vexed at this, and to console me, he said he would permit the Grand Marshal to visit me again. However happy I might be, at the thought of seeing my friend once more, and receiving further communications from the Emperor, yet I was nevertheless distressed by this delay, which prolonged the conflict of my mind, and lacerated the wounds of my heart. There are victories which can only be obtained by flight; the victory I was pursuing was one of this kind.

*Last Farewell.—Sealing of my Papers.—Departure.*

30th.—I received an early visit from Admiral Malcolm. He came to introduce me to Capt. Wright, who was to convey me to the Cape on board the Griffin brig. The Admiral recommended me to Capt. Wright as his friend, and, in a very pleasing manner, assured me that I should have every reason to be satisfied with the endeavours that would be made to render things agreeable to

me. I duly appreciated this mark of delicate interest on the part of the Admiral, and the sentiment of sincere gratitude that arose in my heart was more forcibly felt than expressed. I was the more sensible of Admiral Malcolm's kindness, because his relations with the Governor rendered it a point of delicacy with him to shew me attention. Therefore, on the present occasion, he had the circumspection to bring along with him Sir Hudson Lowe's confidential man.

I looked forward to the decisive moment with my usual anxiety ; for the Governor betrayed so much eagerness to induce me to remain, that I was fearful he would finally start some unforeseen obstacle to my departure.

About eleven o'clock the Grand Marshal arrived, accompanied by the Governor and some officers. He renewed his endeavours to prevail on me to return to Longwood ; but without ever expressing the positive desire of the Emperor. Knowing my sentiments so well as he did, he must have been aware that a word would have decided me. But this word he did not pronounce, and he even avoided doing so when I pressed him to it, always referring to the Emperor's message, which he had delivered to me on the preceding day. Thus I had to defend myself against him, from whom I should have wished to receive support. His expressions of regard increased my distress, and I was perplexed between the wish of remaining, and the determi-

nation of departing. If my heart dictated the one course, courage demanded the other ; and I continued inflexible.

I must not forget to mention that the Grand Marshal, in the course of conversation, informed me that the Emperor had wished to see me before my departure. The Governor, however, required that an English officer should be present during our interview ; and the Emperor renounced his intention, observing, that I well knew he would deny himself the happiness of seeing his own wife and son on such conditions. How was I gratified by these words ! . . .

I delivered to the Grand Marshal thirteen bills of exchange, on my banker in London, for the 4,000 louis, which I had so frequently offered to the Emperor, and which the Grand Marshal now informed me he had consented to accept. This was a real consolation to me.

This business being settled, General Gourgaud, who had accompanied the Grand Marshal, was also permitted to enter and take leave of me. This new mark of interest, joined to many others which the General had shewn me during my imprisonment, failed not to produce an impression on my heart.

The Grand Marshal and the General remained with me for a considerable time, and Sir Hudson Lowe had the politeness to say that they might, if they pleased, stay and breakfast with me. He re-

tired, taking with him all his people, with the exception of the officer on duty at Longwood, who had escorted the gentlemen to the castle. This officer was Captain Poppleton, with whose conduct we had always found reason to be perfectly satisfied. During our breakfast, over which we sat for a very long time, we certainly might, in spite of the presence of Captain Poppleton, have found means to make secret communications with each other; but we had none to make, and not a syllable of a private nature passed between us. Had I foreseen this unexpected circumstance, I might have put into my son's hands the whole of my correspondence with Sir Hudson Lowe, and it might, by this means, have been easily transmitted to Longwood. However, on reflection, I congratulated myself on not having made any such attempt. I still distrusted Sir Hudson Lowe, and from the endeavours he made to prevail on me to remain, he would certainly have availed himself of such a discovery as an excuse for changing all the arrangements that had been made, and issuing fresh orders.

Breakfast being ended, I was the first who had courage to rise and take farewell. I sent to request that the Governor would come and execute the final measures. I embraced my friends, and they left me. General Gourgaud, at parting, several times feelingly alluded to the little vexations which had occasionally risen up between us. I

felt happy in expressing my conviction that they had been wholly occasioned by the painful circumstances in which we were placed, and that our hearts had no share in them. I cherish, with sincere gratitude, the remembrance of the kind attentions which I received from General Gourgaud, during the latter period of my residence at St. Helena.\*

Sir Hudson Lowe, on his return, seeing the Grand Marshal and General Gourgaud go out, said to me significantly, and with appearance of embarrassment and vexation, "So you do not intend to return to Longwood? It may be presumed you have good reasons for refusing to do so." A bow was my only reply; and I begged that the Governor would immediately proceed to seal up the papers, the only thing that now remained to be done. Some days previously, I had demanded that an authentic inventory of my papers should be made out: this was done; and I obtained a copy of it, signed by Sir Hudson Lowe. All that was now to be done, was to affix the seals. The Governor delayed this for-

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\* I may here repeat a correction respecting General Gourgaud, which I could only insert in the index to Part IV. because the fact was not communicated to me until after the volume was printed.

It was, by mistake, mentioned in Part I. that General Gourgaud negotiated for permission to proceed to St. Helena. He was one of the individuals selected by the Emperor.

mality until the last moment, and he concluded it in a way perfectly characteristic of his disposition. He told me, in very fair words, but with an appearance of constraint, that out of respect for the Emperor, as well as from personal consideration for me, he would willingly permit me to affix my seal to the papers, provided I would consent that he should break it, during my absence, if he thought necessary. I smiled at this proposal, and declined it; upon which he walked with hasty strides up and down the room for some time, and then, as if coming to a sudden determination, he exclaimed, "I will take the whole upon myself; I will dispense with your seal." He called in the Government Secretary, and the seals of the island were affixed to the papers in my presence. I requested that he would furnish me with a declaration of his refusal to permit me to seal them with my arms, or the singular condition he had attached to my doing so. This was a new subject of hesitation; but the point was at length settled, by the Governor furnishing me with the declaration, in the following terms:—

*Declaration of Sir Hudson Lowe to Count de Las Cases.*

"In consequence of what was stated in the Governor's decision relative to the affair of Count de Las Cases, a great number of the Count's papers are now, at the moment of his departure from the island, detained.

“ The Governor, whose special duty it is to suffer no papers whatever coming from Longwood, to leave the island, without being previously examined, has, however, for private reasons, hitherto abstained from noticing all that were sent by Count Las Cases. The Governor has determined that the papers belonging to the Count, which have been detained, (and of which Sir Hudson Lowe knows only the general tenour,) shall be put into two separate packets, and deposited in the treasury of the island, until orders be received from Government respecting them.

“ Count de Las Cases may affix his seal to each of these packets, with the understanding that the seal may be broken, either in case it should be necessary to convey the packets from the island, in conformity with orders from Government ; or in case the interest of the service should require the packets to be opened.

“ Thus, the affixing of this seal is merely a moral guarantee, which the Governor offers to Count Las Cases for his own satisfaction, to afford him the assurance of the packets not being opened, except for one of the urgent reasons above specified.

“ If, under these circumstances, Count Las Cases should decline affixing his seals to the packets, or refuse to accede to the condition on which the affixing of his seal is permitted, the Governor, who cannot permit any sealed packet, or



any papers whatever, coming from Longwood, to pass from his hands, without examination, considers as necessary, every precaution calculated to assure his Government that he has adopted proper measures for the security of the papers that are detained, until he shall receive orders respecting them.

“ Count Las Cases having refused to affix his seal on the conditions above mentioned, the papers, divided into two distinct packets, have been deposited in two boxes, sealed with the seals of the Government and the Island.

(Signed)

“ H. LOWE.”

“ Dec. 31, 1816.”

All business being now settled between us, Sir Hudson Lowe, by a characteristic turn of behaviour, which he had oftener than once exhibited since I had been his prisoner, either from motives of civility or calculation, immediately wrote for me several letters of introduction to his private friends at the Cape, who, he assured me, would prove very agreeable to me. I had not the courage to refuse these letters, such was the sincerity with which they appeared to be offered. At length, the long looked-for moment of departure arrived. The Governor accompanied me to the gate of the castle, and ordered all his officers to attend me to the place of embarkation ; this, he said, was intended as a mark of respect. I eagerly jumped

into the boat which was in readiness to receive me. I crossed the port, and passed near a vessel which had just arrived from the Cape, on board of which, to my surprise, I observed the Pole and the three servants who had been sent away from us, several months before, and who were now on their way to Europe. They saluted me by gestures as I passed, and I need not say how much I was astonished to see them. One of these individuals was the bearer of the only document which escaped from the island, namely, the letter on the subject of the allied Commissioners. I doubted not but the discovery that had been made with respect to my servant, would furnish the Governor with an excuse for searching those persons, who were far from suspecting such a thing. Fortunately, however, no search took place, and the faithful Santini had the merit of being the first to convey to Europe any authentic account of Longwood.

At length I got fairly on board the brig: she weighed anchor; and I thought my last wishes accomplished. But these vain illusions were destined to be cruelly destroyed; and my ultimate experience of the hearts of certain men, proved that all the hopes I had formed were but vain chimeras. . . . How could I so far deceive myself as to rely on the sensibility of those very men, who, in defiance of all law, had pronounced the sentence and ordered the execution?—Why did I not stay to administer domestic consolation, rather than dream of render-

ing remote services? I might have continued my daily attentions for some time longer, and have obtained some additional marks of interest; and when the fatal moment arrived, I should have had my share in the general grief. I might have contributed to assuage the anguish of Napoleon's last moments; and have helped to close his eyes! . . . But no! . . . Perhaps the effect of the climate, operating on my feeble state of health, would soon have hurried me from this world. I should, probably, not have lived to witness the sad event. . . . I should have been spared the grief that now presses upon my heart. . . . I should not have had to struggle with the cruel infirmities brought from my place of exile. My ashes would there have reposed in peace; and thus to have closed my life, might have been looked upon as an additional favour of my happy star, or the last blessing of heaven!

This perhaps ought to be the conclusion of my Journal, since I am now removed from St. Helena, and can no longer record the words of the Emperor. However, the following pages are so intimately connected with what concerns Napoleon, that I am convinced I need offer no apology for continuing.

*Passage from St. Helena to the Cape, a Space of Eighteen Days.—Our Grievances at Longwood.—Details, &c.*

From Tuesday, Dec. 31st, 1816, to Friday, Jan. 17th, 1817.—When daylight appeared, St. Helena no longer existed for us, except in our hearts.—We were rapidly sailing away from that dear and accursed spot, in the midst of the ocean, and at an immense distance from both the old and the new world. The officers and the crew treated us with the most marked benevolence; their care, their attention, their deference, the sympathy they expressed were such, that, but for the language which I heard spoken, I might have fancied myself on board of a French vessel. To the shyness and circumspection of St. Helena, had succeeded a complete freedom from restraint. I then learnt how much I was indebted to Admiral Malcolm. It was he who had obtained for me the favour of a brig of war, instead of the wretched transport with which I had been threatened. As soon as he was apprized of Sir Hudson Lowe's determination, he hastened to go and offer him one of his ships, assuring him that he could spare one to save me from the inconveniences and the privations to which I should otherwise be exposed; and making a signal, he had brought into the harbour the Griffin, the commander of which was one of the officers whom he most liked. It has

already been seen, that the Admiral brought him with him to see me.

The Admiral had manifested a desire to see me, at the commencement of my captivity, but had, from motives of prudence, waited until the moment of my departure. He had chiefly dreaded, I was told, that I should lay my case before him, and appeal to him to judge between me and the Governor, with regard to whom he found himself placed in a very delicate situation. But he might have felt perfectly secure on that score; I had had too much experience, and seen too much to fall into such an error.

My son devoted part of our passage to copy some papers which we had purposely torn, and the fragments of which we had distributed in various places amongst our baggage, or about our persons. Sir Hudson Lowe had rendered the precaution necessary, by informing me a short time before, that he should again search my papers before my departure, in order to see what I might have written during my captivity. I took the liberty to represent to him, that such an act would be tyrannical in the extreme, and devoid of delicacy; "It would then turn out," said I, "that you only allowed me the use of pens and paper, for the purpose of possessing yourself of ideas, which, but for that permission, I should have kept to myself. This would be a most perfidious snare, which your tribunals would no doubt

“condemn, and which would be strongly reprobated by all upright minds.” Sir Hudson Lowe probably felt the justice of this argument, for he never mentioned the subject again.

The most important of these papers, the document I valued most, was what I have called a statement of our grievances at Longwood.

Whilst I was in Sir Hudson Lowe’s power, our conversations led me, at his own request, to make out a hasty statement enumerating our grievances. My son’s ill health, and the state of my eyes, prevented us from taking a fair copy of that statement for ourselves. I had asked the Governor to let me have some person to copy for me, but which request he did not comply with, and I did not think it delicate to insist; since it was to lay before him a statement, which must be very unpleasant to him. On the other hand, as I was speaking without the knowledge of my companions, and yet frequently in their names, it was of great importance to me, that they should be acquainted with what I said, in order to set me right, if I had made any errors.

At the moment of my departure, I told Sir Hudson Lowe that I had completed the statement, and shewed him the parcel sealed, the contents of which, I said, I proposed to have copied at the Cape, or even on board the brig, and to send him two copies, one for himself, and one for Longwood. Sir Hudson appeared to value the offer

very much, but preferring, however, another arrangement, it was agreed, that I should immediately deposit my manuscript in the hands of a third person, in order that each party might take a copy of it, and that the original should afterwards be returned to me. I therefore sought some person whose honourable disposition inspired me with confidence ; General Bingham, the second in command in the Island, was the first person I thought of. To him I therefore addressed my manuscript, with the Governor's consent, and under the express condition, that it should be shewn at the same time to Sir Hudson Lowe, and to Count Bertrand, who was aware of the arrangement. I shall now proceed to lay that document before the reader ; it contains nothing but repetitions, no doubt ; but could that be otherwise ? At all events, it will give an uninterrupted summary, and on that account must claim indulgence ; it is, besides, a document which it is indispensable for me to produce.

STATEMENT OF OUR GRIEVANCES AT LONGWOOD.

“ SIR,—In the various interviews that have taken place between us in consequence of my personal captivity, some reflections have been interchanged concerning Longwood, which have frequently recurred to my mind. You have often repeated, *that we at Longwood were in error, and that we strove to remain so.* It is in vain that I have represented to you, that such was precisely the

observation, which we every day made between ourselves, with respect to you; you still continued to insist on this point, with the appearance of the most positive conviction. On another occasion you told me, that we ought to have stated *our grievances* to you; that you would have sent the statement to the British Ministers, and would willingly have given publicity to what personally related to yourself. I observed to you, that my letters which had passed through your hands, were tolerably well calculated to fulfil that object; that my letter to Prince Lucien, which occasioned my present seclusion, had been intended to pass through your hands in like manner, but that you had forbidden my writing any letters. *That prohibition*, you have said, *was on account of the reflections they contained*. But our sufferings being chiefly moral, must they not therefore necessarily give rise chiefly to *reflections*?

“ These subjects, and several others of the same description, would have required to be more fully explained, they would have required a regular conversation quietly carried on between us, but you did not furnish any opportunity for such a conversation, and I did not seek for one. However, an impression has been thereby left on my mind, which has been strengthened by other incidental circumstances, that you have not the slightest notion of your position with respect to Longwood, or that you do not understand, and



are even unconscious of part of the wrongs you have inflicted upon us.

“ This, though it does not obliterate those wrongs altogether in my opinion, has at least the effect of removing the most odious portion of them—the bad intention.

“ From that instant, I formed the resolution to devote the leisure afforded by my seclusion, to inform you of those wrongs. My situation, and the moment are most favourable ; I shall write calmly and without passion ; I shall not feel that degree of animosity, which I should probably have felt at Longwood, before I saw you here ; besides, this will only be my personal opinion ; my statements will be purely individual ; they will be dictated by the love of truth, and, shall I own it (see whether I can be just), by a kind of interest which I now feel towards you ; for the unpleasant restraint under which I am now kept by you, does not prevent me from perceiving the politeness with which, at the same time, you treat me. Above all, Sir, read this calmly ; recollect that these are *our grievances* which I am going to retrace, what I call *the wrongs*, either real or apparent, which you have inflicted upon us, and that I now state them here with the utmost candour, as if I were inserting them in my journal, or as if you were not to read them.

“ And if I happen to err in some of the details, I request you will consider that you have deprived me of all my papers ; that I can have no

access to the official documents, that I write from recollection only, and that I am ready to retract every error of any consequence which you may point out to me.

“ I shall take up the facts from the beginning.—

“ By a sudden reverse, a great sovereign, at the summit of power, betrayed by fortune and men, had lost his throne and his liberty, and found himself thrown on a horrible rock in the midst of the ocean; and all these events had succeeded each other so rapidly, that every thing was accomplished before any thing had been determined. We therefore anxiously awaited at St. Helena the decision of our fate; but we awaited it at least with the consolation which the excess of misfortune can suggest, the belief that our situation could not possibly become worse than it was.

“ The eyes of Europe,” we said, “ are fixed upon our rock; and nations will now judge of the conduct of kings: they doubtless will be lavish of proofs of respect and marks of attention, in expiation at least, of what they call political necessity. In England, the language of the legislature and the expression of public opinion have tended to encourage such hopes, and the British Ministers, the responsible depositaries of the glory of their nation, cannot possibly, on this occasion, gratify their own hatred, if they have any, at the expense of morality and public sentiments.

“ A man is appointed to take the command  
“ here, (you, Sir, were the person alluded to)  
“ who holds a distinguished rank in the army : he  
“ owes his fortune to his personal merit ; his life  
“ has been passed in diplomatic missions, at the  
“ head-quarters of the sovereigns of the continent,  
“ where the name, the rank, the power, the titles  
“ of the Emperor Napoleon must have become  
“ familiar to him. He will be acquainted with the  
“ relations, both public and individual, that existed  
“ between the Emperor and those sovereigns who,  
“ for a long time, called him brother, who have  
“ been his friends or allies, or are his kinsmen.  
“ He will know that at Chatillon it depended  
“ solely on the Emperor to reign in France with  
“ the consent of England herself ; and that at a  
“ later period he might have retained the posses-  
“ sion of other countries.

“ This man,” we said, “ in his diplomatic career  
“ will have formed just notions, both with respect  
“ to persons and things : he probably laughs him-  
“ self, now that the object is attained, at the mass  
“ of falsehood and libel which fear and policy had  
“ invented for the vulgar ; and having been placed  
“ in such situations, he would not now accept a  
“ mission founded on principles different from  
“ those thus established, and having any other ob-  
“ ject than to better our present condition. His  
“ arrival alone is therefore a sufficient pledge of  
“ the favourable nature of his instructions with re-

spect to us. ‘*Did you not tell me,*’ said the Emperor to us one day, ‘*that he was at Champ Aubert and at Montmirail? We have then probably exchanged a few cannon balls together, and that is always in my eyes a noble relation to stand in.*’” Such were the dispositions in which Sir Hudson Lowe was expected.

“You arrived, Sir; and your first visit at Longwood was made at an improper hour; at an hour at which the Emperor had never received any body, and without having previously sent one of your aides-de-camp to inquire what time would be most agreeable to him, a formality which you would not certainly have omitted with your Ministers, or even with any person merely your superior, either in England or on the continent; and yet with whom were you acting thus? . . . The Emperor did not receive you. This first step was not propitious, it must be admitted; but so much were we prepossessed in your favour, that we were willing to suppose, that being but just arrived in the island, advantage had been taken of that circumstance to induce you to begin with us by an insult. A few days afterwards, you were going round Longwood and extolling to one of us the beauty of that spot, which can only be for us a place of desolation. It was observed to you that there was a total want of shade, which was a great privation to the Emperor. *Trees shall be planted,* was your horrible reply, which penetrated to the

bottom of our hearts, but the cruelty of which, I now wish to believe, you did not yourself perceive.

“ You brought with you an order, obliging us to make a declaration that our residence at St. Helena was quite voluntary, and that we engaged to submit to all the restrictions that might be imposed upon us. It was then whispered about amongst us, by whom or from what motive I know not, that in doing so, we were going to sign our exile for life ; and yet you must have seen how willingly all, from the first officer down to the lowest servant, hastened to comply with this order. You came again a few days afterwards, with the signatures of the servants ; you wanted, you said, to collect them together in order to speak to them, and you wished to have the Emperor’s consent for that purpose. I replied to you, that you had the power to act as you thought proper, but that it would be useless to affect a mark of attention which would only be an additional insult : we were in the habit of considering the circle that surrounded the Emperor, as a sacred sanctuary. If your Ministers had granted twelve servants, which had not been asked of them, that was undoubtedly the private household which had been intended for the Emperor. Was it proper to come and interfere in it, to place yourself, as it were, between the Emperor and his valet ? The important mission of the Governor of St. Helena could have no other object than to watch over the outer enclosure of

Longwood, but scrupulously to respect the asylum, the domestic arrangements of the interior; ought he to have intruded into a family circle? Be that as it may, you saw the servants in order to verify their declarations, without reflecting on the intolerable insult offered to us by that solemn measure. If your laws required such a security, you had so many indirect means of obtaining the assurance which you wanted!

"We, therefore, only saw, in such conduct, a preconcerted plan to humiliate and insult us. We said to ourselves that they had sent us a mere gaoler from England; our hearts were oppressed, our hopes fled, and the breach was made. On the other hand, your countenance began to assume an impression of hostility and dissatisfaction; the words that passed between us were far from being of an agreeable nature.

"You often repeated, we were informed, and you yourself even told us, that we suffered ourselves to be strangely deceived respecting our situation. What does he mean by that? said we to ourselves. How could we possibly deceive ourselves? We were in the Tuileries and gave laws; we are on a rock and wear chains! To see that, to speak thus, is it to deceive one's self? Is it the ease and freedom of our manners that surprises him? Would he wish to see us obsequious? Does he think us proud? And why should we not possess innate pride? And what is there more natural

than that our pride should increase in adversity? Is it not rather he who is deceived, and misapprehends his situation? Does he not know that condescension is becoming to power, and adds lustre to it? Can he not see that his glory is not to subdue, but rather to conciliate us; and that he is depriving himself of a noble page in the annals of history? If the manifestation of ill humour could ever be allowed, it ought only to be to us, the victims of oppression! Does he think himself surrounded by common objects, or placed in circumstances of common occurrence? The Emperor Napoleon has only lost his throne; a sudden reverse of fortune has deprived him of it; success would have fixed him on it: he has only lost perishable possessions, but all his sacred characters still remain. He is still the elect of a great nation, consecrated by religion, sanctioned by victory, acknowledged by all sovereigns—he has created sovereigns! The actions he has performed are wonders; the monuments he has erected cover the earth; his name fills the world; his institutions, his ideas, have been adopted and imitated, and now shine amongst his enemies: he has only lost his throne; he has preserved all the rest, and still commands the respect of mankind! —The Governor is mistaken, we do not deceive ourselves.

“ We also heard that you did not behave with much attention towards us, because, as you said,

we were wanting in marks of respect towards you ; and you victoriously used against us the great advantage which you possessed over us in that kind of warfare, though we were entirely ignorant as to what want of respect you could complain of from us towards you, and what particular marks of deference you required.

“ Things were in this situation, when a lady of distinction arrived in the island. You received her at Plantation House ; and, in order to render yourself agreeable to her, and no doubt to satisfy her curiosity, you wrote to Longwood, to invite *General Bonaparte* to come and meet your guest at dinner ! But could you think of such a thing ?—Did you really conceive it possible that your invitation could be accepted ? And what embarrassment would it not have caused you if it had ?—Would you have given to your guest the title of General, which, from circumstances, is become an insult to him ? Where would you have placed him ? How would you have treated him—as a General of Division, or a Commander-in-Chief ?—Sir ! each idea, each word, is an insult. And to whom did you offer these insults ? To the proudest mind, perhaps, in the universe. I must confess it, when I read that note, I turned pale with surprise and indignation. But the Emperor, calm and unmoved, ordered me to give the note back to the Grand Marshal, who asked what answer he was to return ? ‘None,’ replied the Emperor,



coolly. But, good God ! what must have been his feelings at heart ! What sensations did we not experience ! What would you not have experienced yourself ! No doubt, in reading this, you will regret the circumstance, and would not act again in the same manner.

“ Almost immediately after this our individual grievances began. A stranger came to see us at Longwood ; for we had not then been placed in that state of absolute seclusion which must infallibly hasten death in this horrible abode ; he was going to England, and was, he said, to return here five or six months afterwards, and earnestly entreated me to allow him to be of service to me in London. You are aware, Sir, that St. Helena offers no resource whatever ; I therefore gave him my watch, to have it mended, being unable to get it done here ; and also sent him, by my servant, an old shoe as a pattern. If I am entering here into such ignoble details, Sir, circumstances compel me to do so, and must plead my justification. Some days after, this stranger sent me back these things, accompanied by the politest letter possible, in which he apologized for not taking charge of them, the Governor having forbidden him, he said, to do so, unless the articles passed through his hands, and unless my request were addressed to him directly. Not receiving any answer from me, he repeated this to me several times, by way of instruction how to act, but I took especial care to make no

reply ; I would rather have gone without a watch for the rest of my life, and walked barefooted. I had felt the insult that had been offered to me, and I endured it in silence : what better can we do when we feel that we are unable to obtain any satisfaction ? Could I, besides, send my old shoe to a General, to a Governor ? It would only, it is true, have been following his own instructions to the letter ; but did I owe no respect to myself ? I therefore concluded that this was an intentional affront offered to me personally. And I ask you, Sir, would you not have thought the same thing ? Had it not been so, said I to myself, Sir Hudson Lowe would have done me the honour to call upon me when he came to Longwood ; he would have told me that he had learnt accidentally that I had, contrary to the regulations, delivered some articles to a passenger for Europe ; that, to oblige me, he had immediately given his permission for their being allowed to go ; that he now informed me of the regular way of proceeding, which he should request me to follow in future. Whatever my previous disposition might have been, I should have felt the delicacy of this conduct ; it would have won me ; it would, at any rate, have embarrassed me considerably ; and I do not think that Sir Hudson Lowe would ever had another occasion to complain of me on that subject. But such was not to be the case. However, as I am an enemy to broils and quarrels, and as this was per-

sonal to me, I kept it secret for a long time : it at last became known through an accidental circumstance, which contributed not a little to augment the sum of our sorrows and vexations at Longwood.

“ One of us had engaged a servant some days since ; you met him at the door of the house, and you arrested him with your own hand, near that threshold which, up to that moment, we had considered sacred. Fortunately, the Emperor was walking at some distance, otherwise the act might have been executed in his presence.

“ ‘ He has dishonoured the narrow space in which I move,’ said the Emperor, speaking of you, when the fact became known to him. ‘ Probably our habits and feelings are unknown to him ; he does not know that all the gold of America, that heaps of diamonds, cannot atone for such insults !’ You have subsequently affirmed that you did not know that the man belonged to one of us. I believe it. But that ignorance ; the precipitancy with which you acted ; the act itself, which must still remain on record ; are they not sufficient evidence of that want of regard on your part which was well calculated, most sensibly, to wound our feelings ?

“ Countess Bertrand had written a note to some person in town ; you seized upon it and returned it to her, accusing her of infringing the rules, and reminding us that, in future, we must abstain from

all written communication with any person whatever in the island, otherwise than through your *medium*, and by sending you our notes open, *as it had always been the practice*. It was in vain that we protested that such had never been the case ; that we referred to the testimony of your own people, who bore us out in our assertion ; that we added that it was certainly in your power to establish such a regulation, but that you ought not to say that you did not make any alteration in the rules established by your predecessor ; you persisted, nevertheless ; and the only consolation left us, was to laugh at the ludicrous regulation which allowed us to go and see and converse with those to whom we were not allowed to write. However, we could only see, and only did see, in that act of inconsistency, an evident desire to torment us, and to make us feel, most indelicately, the weight of authority.

“ Hitherto admittance to Longwood had been obtained by passes from the Grand Marshal. This was a condescension of pure courtesy : the person who possessed the authority and regulated the police of the island, could, at his will, and without noise, prohibit all access to the Grand Marshal, and thus annul his apparent prerogative. You, Sir, suppressed that prerogative, and continued, however, of your own accord, to grant permissions to come to Longwood ; thus reserving to yourself, in a most insulting manner, according to our

notions, the means of shewing your illustrious captive, at your will, as an object of curiosity. You were written to on the subject, that if you did not replace things on the same footing as they were before, the Emperor would take the resolution henceforward to see nobody, and you were requested to spare him the importunity of those persons who should be sent by you alone.

“What was your answer? ‘That you were very sorry to hear that General Bonaparte had been importuned by visits; and that you should immediately adopt the most active measures to prevent a recurrence of that inconvenience.’ And from that moment, you placed us in a state of almost absolute seclusion. This measure, and especially the irony with which it was accompanied, shocked us extremely; the latter appeared to us barbarous, and filled us with indignation. But this was not all. Some of your agents, or I know not who, whose zeal, no doubt, went beyond your intentions, circulated every where a report that the Emperor would no longer see anybody; and that he complained of having been importuned by several persons. This report became general; in the camp, in town, every where. I have, for my own part, undeceived three or four persons who believed it. And you feel surprised and offended at the mistrust—the doubts, which were entertained concerning you at Longwood! You, Sir, who have repeated to me that you would wish

above all, to judge after having examined both sides, pass for an instant to our side, judge upon these facts, and decide.

“Our horizon then began to assume a much darker aspect. We were daily losing ground ; terror surrounded us ; people began visibly to shun a spot, upon which a malediction had been cast ; and we were rapidly going towards a state of complete seclusion. Your own notes, however, were far from representing things in this light ; they appeared to us to be put together with great skill. One in particular struck us most forcibly ; my memory does not enable me to recollect it ; but it was relative to some ill treatment of the Emperor, and was, however, full of expressions of the most respectful deference. This contrast attracted the notice of him, who is so far from being known ; whose expressions may possibly be hasty, but who is ever slow to condemn, and whose judgment is admirable. A long time after *we* had already pronounced our opinions most severely on the subject, *he* was still hesitating. “Man is incomprehensible,” he had often said ; “how difficult it is to judge him ! He may commit “a bad action, and yet not be a bad man.” But *this* time he said, “To act so ill, and to write so “well ; to strike with one hand, and with the “other, to justify one’s self at the same time, ah ! “that argues skill and depth of invention !” And he pronounced these fatal words, “*Sir Hudson*

"*Lowe is a wicked man!*" Had you, Sir, been in the midst of us, and placed in the same situation as we were, you would undoubtedly have thought and said the same thing.

"We are now going to touch on a delicate subject, that of the expenditure. It was one day notified to us, that superior orders enjoined to you to reduce the sum allotted to our expenses, from 20,000 odd, to 8,000 pounds; that if the Emperor would make up the difference between the two sums, things should remain on the same footing as they were; but that in default of that, reductions became indispensable. The Emperor had no money. All communication with Europe is forbidden to him. You proceeded to effect reductions. You yourself considered the sum of 8,000*l.* to be absolutely inadequate; and you took upon yourself, you have told me here, to increase it to 12,000*l.*; and you have appeared surprised that you did not receive any demonstrations of gratitude on that account! Sir, indignation, and indignation carried to the highest pitch, leaves no room for any other feeling! the demonstrations of that indignation, which alone you met with, of which alone you received proofs, were not addressed to you more than to your superiors—than to all nature. And what other sentiment could be experienced by captives who, at that moment, felt the recollection of confidence betrayed, *the terrible hospitality of the Bellerophon!* rise in their hearts

in all its bitterness ; who considered themselves brought here by the basest treachery, and perfidiously deprived of their liberty and of their fortunes ; who had been loaded with chains, and whose very subsistence was now bargained for with them, as if it had been the result of a favour solicited, or of an asylum demanded ! What must have been the feelings of men, with whom objects were attempted to be discussed, which, in the midst of their great misfortunes, they considered as nought ; who, if even they had been overloaded with favours, would still have contemplated only what they were deprived of ! What could they feel, when they were called on to attend to a calculation concerning the three or four dishes which, it was said, had been allowed to compose the Emperor's table ; or a dinner which he had been permitted to give once a week ; and other things of this kind ? This contrast of the cold calculations of the counting-house, with the tempest of our passions, ought it not to have struck you yourself ? To offer the contemplation of such details to him, who, not long since, had governed the world and created kings ! . . . To think that he could condescend to look at them, to listen to them ! . . . The pen drops from the hand—the blood boils—one knows not whom to accuse ! . . . Oh ! noble and generous hearts of Great Britain, English Nation, and you, Prince Regent, who represent it, and are ambitious of glory, it is not you that I accuse !



no doubt, that if those details were well known to you, you yourselves would become most ardent accusers. You would be indignant to see your character thus exposed; to see, that in the midst of interests of that importance, a few pieces of silver should be thought of when honour is in the case! Is that your boasted generosity, your pride, your greatness? Are these your sentiments? Was that your will? And is it thus that your great enemy during twenty years,—that the man, who, in the hour of adversity, esteemed you enough to seek a refuge amongst you, in preference to Sovereigns, one of whom had called himself his friend, and the other had become his father-in-law,—is it thus that he is treated in your name? Was this treatment intended by your Legislature, by whom the question had been agitated, whether Napoleon, on this horrible rock, should be considered as a king or a private captive? Could this treatment be contemplated from the language of your very Ministers, who had said, that, short of liberty, every indulgence should be readily granted, to alleviate the torments of a situation so extraordinary. And yet, such is the ignominious treatment to which he is exposed, for whom, your papers have stated, that palaces and splendid superfluities had been embarked. Cease then to be surprised if this august personage desires to be spared the necessity of entering into such ignoble details, and if he exclaims, pointing to the 53d Regiment,

‘Leave me alone ; if I am hungry, I will go and take a seat amongst those brave fellows: they will not repulse the oldest soldier in Europe.’

“At the period of my arrival, the Emperor had already said, on the occasion of some difficulties of the same nature, ‘If there were no women with me, I would desire only the rations of a soldier.’

“In the mean time, you effected your reductions in the way you thought proper. Some servants that were necessary to us were taken from us ; considerable retrenchments were made ; so much so, that having really no longer the necessities of life, we were obliged to procure them ourselves. The Emperor, therefore, ordered his plate to be sold ; and this order became an additional source of troubles and vexations. On the one hand, the servants of the Emperor were shedding tears in breaking up what they considered as relics ; on the other, difficulties were raised by yourself in the town, and you complained of the liberty that had been taken of sending these objects there without asking your permission.

“Much was said about this time of letters that had arrived to our address, and which, we were told, you had sent back to Europe, without mentioning any thing to us on the subject, because they had not come through the channel of Ministers. You have felt hurt at this reproach ; you have said that it was without foundation, as you had never returned any letters ; you give me this

assurance on your word, and I now believe you. But at Longwood, we could not help laughing at the means you resorted to, of calling upon us to state what those letters were, and at what time they were sent back; for this could be known only to yourself.

“ Certain it is, that you detained one of mine for the space of thirty-five days. It was found one morning upon my scrutoire, thrust in amongst others which had lately arrived. You have told me since I have been here, that it had remained at Plantation House by some mistake, and that you had not given this excuse, for fear it should not be believed.

“ I cannot blame you, and should have acted in the same way; but knowing nothing of the matter, what was I to think, what would you have thought of it yourself?

“ A circumstance occurred also about this time, which will help at once to explain many things. When the Countess de Montholon was confined, a young English clergyman of great fervour, came to christen her child. We detained him to breakfast at the general table. The conversation having fallen upon religion, his countenance indicated much surprise, when he heard us lamenting the want of a priest. Believing no doubt with the vulgar, the heap of nonsense which is continually told of us, he had expected to find himself in the company of renegades. It escaped him to con-

fess, that he had heard and believed a report of a priest having offered himself to us at Madeira, and of our having rejected him, accompanying our refusal with some epithets of coarse ribaldry. He was much astonished to hear, that if such an offer was really made, we had been kept in ignorance of it. Availing myself of this circumstance, I requested the clergyman, when breakfast was over, to come to my apartment, and I naturally took this opportunity of describing to him our situation in a moral point of view. We had, besides ourselves, women and children, who suffered a real privation from the absence of religious exercises. We were most anxious to supply this deficiency, though without noise or ostentation. Now, said I to him, this is an affair precisely within your province; and I confided to him our wishes, and intrusted to his conscience the care of obtaining the Governor's assent to them. No sooner had I uttered the word Governor, than I thought I discovered an expression of embarrassment on his countenance, which indicated the fear of compromising himself, so great was the terror that surrounded us! I heard no more of him. Is it that he durst not fulfil his mission? or that you required in this case, as in every other, that I should myself make the request? If I have not done so, it is because I felt embarrassed at the idea of the ridicule which is ever so readily bestowed on a subject of this nature, and likewise, because I

feared that we might not be allowed to select this physician of the soul, in whom a still greater confidence ought to be reposed, than in a physician for the body; and that a stranger might be forced upon us, who, far from affording us any consolation, would only have suggested to our minds the idea of an additional agent to watch over us, of a spy amongst us.

“ The notes on both sides had assumed so warm a tone, that you thought proper to put a stop to them, in order to avoid what you called insults, and what we called truths, and which might really be both the one and the other. You told us that you broke off the correspondence; this was sufficient for us, we ceased to write. It is true, that at a later period, you pretended that we had misinterpreted your intentions; but this was a quibble upon words. You imposed conditions, which made it impracticable to correspond; you required, for instance, that henceforth, in order that any complaint might be forwarded by you to your Government, it should bear the Emperor's own signature. But how could you expect this? to whom upon earth could the Emperor prefer a complaint? Where is there a tribunal for him, unless it be that of nations? to them only, and to God, can the Emperor complain. Was it his complaints that were dreaded, when he was not allowed to write to the Prince Regent, unless his letters were previously read? Delicacy no doubt

seems to forbid this suspicion; and yet, what could be the motives for a measure equally insulting to the dignity of both these exalted personages? What intentions could he be supposed to have had? I will tell you those he really had; he was desirous, by the aid of so sacred a cover, to obtain in the only suitable way still left to him, news from his wife and child; and means were found of persecuting him in that course, which had appeared most natural and most delicate to a husband and a father.

“The interruption to all correspondence, had been preceded by that of all verbal communications. After two or three audiences, the Emperor had determined not to see you any more. We had thenceforth no means of meeting each other; and we hoped not to see you again; but you did not desist from making your appearance as usual. We all fled at your approach; every one sought his hiding place, whilst you exultingly continued your rounds about the prison of your victims.

“Under these circumstances, and at this time, a ship arrived from Europe. You receive the despatches, and come in state to Longwood, surrounded by a numerous staff, demanding to make fresh and private communications to the Emperor. From the display thus made, and the expressions used, we each of us felt persuaded, that they must be of a most agreeable nature. The Emperor,

whether he thought otherwise, or whether in his opinion the quality of the mediator was not in any way affected by the nature of the communications, refused to receive you. He consented, a few days afterwards, to see one of your officers upon this subject. But what had he to communicate to him? the most disagreeable things, and couched in the most offensive language! And that, we all exclaimed, was what you had reserved for the Emperor in person! And what else could we say, feel, or think? What other feeling could you have entertained in our place? Those despatches contained, amongst other things, an order to make us repeat our declarations, and sign without reserve the form that would be presented to us. At the time of the first declarations, they had thought to gain something by impressing us with the fear of remaining here for ever. This time they knew us better; and were much more certain to secure us by threatening, to make us instantly quit the island. With this alternative, accordingly, a form was produced to us, which was exceedingly revolting to us in its expressions. In vain did we attempt to resist; the *sine qua non* vibrated incessantly in our hearts. In case of refusal, we were to be sent direct to the Cape, we were to abandon to himself the dear and sacred object of our hopes and of our cares, and see him go down alive into the grave. We signed without his knowledge, aware that he would feel hurt were he to know

it. He was irritated by so many vexations. We signed in the silence of night, whilst he was reposing; and we congratulated ourselves that we had gained this triumph over his personal intentions; it was the triumph of tender children, who deceive their father in order to serve him.

“ Our fresh declarations, were followed by fresh restrictions, by which you contracted the limits of our first boundary considerably; you also struck out of those limits, the space formerly allotted for the Emperor’s ride; and gave as a motive, that he had discontinued using it; adding, with much formality, that if he should ever feel a desire to renew that exercise, on his expressing the wish, the posts would be re-established for the time of his ride. We immediately exclaimed, This again is striking with one hand, and justifying one’s self with the other; wantonly to ill treat us here, and artfully to manage to appear in a fair light, at a distance, in the eyes of Ministers and of the public; for it was impracticable to replace the posts for a ride that was only taken at the caprice of the moment; and you knew us too well to fear that such a thing would ever be asked of you. The remainder of the restrictions contained some points more or less disagreeable, applying to each of us individually, of which we took or laid aside what we thought proper. But what would hardly be credited, and what few will believe, is that you should have stated in them, that if the Emperor

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happened to meet any one in his rides, he was not to speak to him beyond what common politeness required. What restrictions! What forms! To whom did you address them? . . . What were our feelings? Those of indignation had been long since exhausted, and we had nothing left for fresh insults, except a sort of senseless wondering. But if these restrictions should ever reach Europe, should they become public (and we have been assured that you have kept them here in a sort of mystery), should they be made known to the nations, and reach the ears of the sovereigns with whom you have been acquainted, what, think you, would be their feelings? Be this as it may, we have concealed them within our breasts, and have taken good care that they should not come to the knowledge of the august personage for whom they were intended, and who is probably still ignorant of them. In the mean time, the number of sentries was increased; the hours at which they encircled us were advanced; ditches were dug, and palisadoes placed all around the establishment; and the Emperor's stables, which are at a short distance, were turned into two complete redoubts, which the Chinese and the soldiers who raised them, jocularly christened *Fort Hudson* and *Fort Lowe*. What has been the result of all this? That the Emperor, to whom exercise on horseback had been rendered irksome, who had limited himself to a few walks round the garden and in

the wood, meeting at every turn some object calculated to shock him, has now confined himself to his apartment, where you will, undoubtedly, soon occasion his death. Medical men think that the absolute want of exercise is rapidly hastening his dissolution ; they must have told you so ; and this certainly is his own opinion. You reply that it is the Emperor's own free will, and that you consider yourself absolved from the consequences of the event ; but does it not follow that you must have rendered life wholly insupportable to him, if you thus confess that he calls and wishes for death ? What a dreadful responsibility ! . . . . If I were to dwell upon this subject, Sir, I might, perhaps, succeed in convincing you that the dread of the last moments of this great man ought to inspire you with the tenderest cares and the most anxious uneasiness, at least during the time of your own administration.

“ Having briefly detailed the principal circumstances which I have witnessed at Longwood, allow me, Sir, to ask you, in my turn, what can have been the causes and the motives of these severe and rapid aggravations, of a situation daily and so cruelly rendered worse ? The dignified and important part of your mission, that of watching over the abode of the Emperor Napoleon, in the Island of St. Helena, is it not the same as when he arrived in this island, as when you yourself arrived ? Whence proceed such severe, such harsh

and barbarous changes? Has the danger increased? Have the chances augmented? Have you discovered any plots? Had any correspondence been established? Have you got any clue? Can you point out any facts, or justify any suspicions? Certainly not;—and if you have no other object in view but to combat every chance possible and that can be foreseen, where will you stop? for death alone can embrace them all. But it is a positive fact, and you will surely not deny it, that the first, the only act that has occurred since your arrival in the island, is that for which I find myself here at this moment in your hands. You may have thought, at first, that you were about to make some great discovery. You have witnessed with what ease, with what calmness I have anticipated your own ideas; I have most readily consented to lay open before you, unreservedly, my most secret papers, those that contained, day after day, all my thoughts and actions. They have afforded you an opportunity of satisfying yourself of the truth of the above assertion, that the present is the first, the only affair of this kind; and you are also now satisfied that this circumstance is nothing, less than nothing. It is therefore true, or at least we could not but think so, and every impartial man will join us in believing, that all your measures have been directed by bitterness, irritation, and personal feelings, much more than by the calls of public duty. No person is less

disposed than I am to prejudge evil ; but I know that men, in their decisions, are too often influenced by secret impulses, which elude their own observation, and lie concealed in the folds of their hearts : descend into your own, search and analyze it, the result will perhaps astonish you. You are constantly saying that, in our relations with others, we never see but the wrong side of things ; and you assure us that your intercourse is more impartial, more candid, and more just. Rarely, Sir, is a man a judge in his own cause ; this impartiality, this correctness, Sir, is precisely what we are most in doubt of. You have, in this respect, a great advantage over us ; it is upon our documents that you make your observations and found your replies ; but we . . . . Where are your documents ? What would not be the embarrassment of those who would have to decide between us, when *we* thus appear in open day, whilst *you* are enveloped in mystery ? What means have we of defending ourselves against your errors ? This reflection cannot fail to strike your Ministers, some day or other, if they wish to be just. The little we know of your ideas is often captious and deceitful.—Your assertions are quite correct in principle, though perfectly inadmissible and null in their application. Thus, for instance, you told me here that, saving only the security of the Emperor's person, and all communication with him unauthorized by you, you were ready to adopt whatever

measures might tend to better our condition. Nothing can be more reasonable, I exclaimed ! but we had no sooner entered into details, than you shewed a disposition to go still further than you had already ventured, &c. &c.

“ Let us now come to what is personal to myself. Your attention was chiefly directed to me, and I was the particular object of your ill will. I deserved it ; for though, perhaps, the most quiet of all by character, I have shewn myself the most irritable on occasion ; I have been the most ardent ; I was proud, and sensible of my situation ; I dared to express it openly. All that I have done and written is to be ascribed to this feeling, and nothing to malevolence, which is foreign to my nature. It was thus I described and expressed, in my letters, whatever I saw and whatever I felt, and with the less hesitation as to what concerned you, Sir, as I was to send it to yourself. If I had written mysteriously, perhaps I might have been more guarded. These letters displeased and irritated you, and you at last forbade me to write, and threatened to remove me from the Emperor if I continued.

“ When you found that I had written to Europe for certain articles which I wanted for myself, you came to tell me that some had been already sent from England, which I might use. I had formed a determination, that you never should find me personally on the bill of your expenses or as a party to

any request. I refused ; giving as a reason that it was foreign from my habits to accept any thing, so long as I was not entirely destitute of resources. I wished to preserve my feelings quite free, and unfettered by gratitude. You sent me word, some days afterwards, that you would complain to your Ministers of my having refused, *with contempt*, what they offered to me.

“ You found fault with my conversations with those who made their appearance amongst us ; I destroyed in their minds the absurd calumnies, the ridiculous stories, that had been invented respecting the greatest of characters ; I made known to them certain *traits*, with which they were much struck, and of which they had, until then, been perfectly ignorant. You reproached me with zealously propagating what concerned us, in order that it might reach Europe ; I compared myself to a man who, whilst he is murdered in a lonely field, destitute of assistance, calls upon the passing birds to witness. Was it offending your country, or violating its laws, to put them in possession of the truth ? on the contrary, I was serving England, and entitling myself to its gratitude. Your efforts against us, in this respect, your excessive and severe precautions against your own countrymen, could not, we thought, but encourage and justify our firm conviction, that, trusting in your distant situation for obtaining the sanction of your Government to your

*arbitrary acts*, you had no longer any other fear than that they should be known to the public. Why, else, keep us in strict seclusion? Why throw obstacles in the way of our being visited or seen by your countrymen, or of our conversing with them, if there was nothing to conceal from their knowledge? Was it the fear of our making false representations to them? But you should, on the contrary, have allowed them to see every thing; and, if appearances were not borne out by the facts, they would then have left us, and pitied us for thus exaggerating our misfortunes.

“When the question arose about removing some one from the Emperor’s person, you declared that your choice should fall upon me, if you did not think me useful to him; in short, your insinuations against me, and your warnings to me, were repeated on every occasion. They were, I confess, a matter of indifference to me: when a martyr has reached a certain point, he no longer calculates his tortures, or rather, perhaps, he is pleased with them. I had long since reached that point; in a physical, as well as a moral sense, the measure was filled; I was, literally speaking, hardly sheltered from the inclemencies of the weather; in my apartment, if it rained, I was drenched; if the sun shone, I was suffocated. My son and myself had no other bed-room than a space sufficient for two very small beds; Newgate had been a better place! . . . But for the sacred cause that gave

vigour to my mind, my body would certainly have yielded long ago. You could not, you ought not, to have been ignorant of this. If I have persisted in never preferring a complaint to you upon this subject, I did what became me ; it was your business to remedy the evil. He is bound to watch over me, said I, for good as well as for evil. The truth is, that we appear to have been considered as objects of reprobation, for whom any thing is too good. And yet God forbid I should dare to allude here to an august personage, so wonderfully restored to his throne by the spontaneous movement of a whole nation, and only torn from it again by the blind efforts of other nations, and the ostracism of kings fearful for their own existence ; it is of those only who surround him that I mean to speak. What could I be reproached with, who, the victim of two mighty revolutions, and always in opposition to my interests, have lost my patrimony in defence of a monarch hurled from his throne, and have sacrificed my family, my fortune, my very liberty, to devote my cares to a monarch who had been elevated to one ?— And that venerable Grand Marshal, the model of devotedness and every virtue, what could he be reproached with ? and so on for all the others. No, said I to myself, with pride, we are neither culprits, nor even men of an ordinary description ; we profess the most sublime, the most noble, the most rare of virtues ; we give a noble



example to the world ; our memories will be for ever engraved in all generous hearts ; we are here upholding the honour of those by whom kings are surrounded. After the example which we have set, it will no longer be said that unfortunate monarchs find neither devotedness, fidelity, nor love ; or it must be admitted, at least, that Napoleon had created those feelings.

“ I had for a servant an inhabitant of the island ; he became an object of suspicion to you ; you determined upon taking him away from me : nothing could be more natural ; but you desired to replace him by one of your own choice, and this I resisted : I replied to your officer, that you might garrison my apartment by force, but never with my consent ; that if I could not have a servant of my choice, I would attend upon myself. You persisted, and I was under the necessity of remaining without a servant. And yet how easy it was for you to satisfy me, since you could have controlled my choice by your refusal ! This servant which you had taken away from me, came back shortly afterwards to tell me that he intended to return to England, and that he would take my commands for that country. I gave him two letters ; you have now ascertained of how little consequence they were. The one was a narrative to Prince Lucien, which had been intended for yourself ; the other nothing more than a friendly communication. It was immaterial ; your restrictions had been infringed,

and here I am in prison. I have considered it beneath me to discuss how far your authority over my person did extend: if it had been exceeded, the laws would afford me redress: I do not bargain when suffering is in question; I take what I find, and punish myself tenfold the next day; I have, in consequence, imposed upon myself the greatest, the most painful of sacrifices. "I have been contaminated," did I write to you; "I can no longer be an object of consolation for the Emperor. I could only be henceforth in his sight a person dishonoured, who would bring injurious recollections to his mind; I banish myself from Longwood; I shall go far away to solicit to see him again, and shall return, I hope, by a distant and unsullied road. I withdraw from the voluntary subjection in which I had submitted to place myself towards you. I replace myself under the protection of the laws, and demand of you my liberty."

"And if I have disdained to dwell upon your conduct towards me, in tearing me away from Longwood, I was not insensible to the injustice of which you had been guilty in thus violating that sanctuary of misfortune. It would have been so easy for you to have ordered me down to the seat of your government. I was at your command: you would have obtained the same result, and would have avoided inflicting the deep wound you will have occasioned.

“ I am free to confess that, since I am under your immediate control, I have found myself surrounded by very unexpected attentions; I have witnessed daily some agreeable alterations which I should not have suspected. I was forcibly struck by this enigma; might it not proceed, said I, from the facility of my disposition? Could I have been mistaken at Longwood? Can I be mistaken here? Surely not. You did not appear to me the same man. I no longer saw you, as I have already said, *through the blood-stained veil*. At last, I have resolved the problem: here I find myself on a level with you; every thing has harmonized between us; whereas, you have never been in harmony for a single moment with that gigantic scale of Longwood, the magnitude of which you either will not perceive, or obstinately endeavour to diminish, rather than raise yourself to its proportions. The circle you have drawn is much too narrow to enclose the objects it is intended to contain; they overflow in every direction, and you mutilate them in every possible manner to force them into it, and are irritated at not succeeding. You recollect to mind the man recorded in fabulous history, who stretched upon his bed all travellers that fell into his hands, and amputated those parts of their bodies which exceeded its narrow dimensions. You have spoken about an error in our respective positions: that is the error, Sir, the true error; I have discovered it, and since then I can explain every thing that has happened.

Endeavour to reflect upon the subject yourself, and see what you will think about it.

“ It is in vain that you would refer to the letter of your instructions, there can be no literal instructions for a mission of so much importance, and so extraordinary as yours; they would place you beneath it. That mission, Sir, is great; and you cannot do too much to elevate its character. Of what glory you are wilfully depriving yourself! After my situation at Longwood, the first object of my ambition in the pursuit of glory, would have been to occupy the post of Governor of this Island. I should have felt the importance and extent of the duty imposed upon me, and I should have fulfilled it. I should have answered for the safety of my captive, but having secured that point, I should not have left him a wish to gratify: it would not been enough for me to possess his esteem, I should have obliged him to love me. I should not have approached his chains but on my knees. And I am not to be told that my instructions, or severe orders, would oblige me to do the contrary in spite of myself; for the rich salary attached to the situation of Governor of St. Helena, the honours with which I might expect to be rewarded, the high confidence reposed in me, of which it would be a proof; all that would be as nothing to me when compared with my independence of mind, and with the approbation of public opinion. Others might be found to succeed me.

“ And to what dangers may you not expose

yourself? You know better than I do the history of your own country. You know how many generals, how many leaders, after having performed services of great difficulty and importance, have fallen a sacrifice to a change of administration, or the caprice of public opinion. If some misfortune of the same kind were to befall you, Sir, how many voices would, perhaps, be raised against you from this island? Beware! lest you be working to effect your own ruin. You will reply, that you are satisfied with the testimony of your own conscience; and, undoubtedly, that testimony is the most satisfactory, most consolatory, most important; but it is only effectual before God: in the eyes of men, it is too often insufficient and of no avail. How many men of unblemished conscience have fallen a prey to the attacks of injustice and public opinion! How many have remained branded by unrefuted calumny! Your Judge Jeffries, of odious memory, was, perhaps, after all, a worthy man, who only executed barbarous regulations to the letter; the character of the times in which he lived, unfortunate circumstances, calumny, exaggeration, party spirit, may have done the rest; and thus can an undeserved reputation be handed down to history! What an inheritance to leave after one! Who would willingly expose himself to such a chance? And, with respect to yourself, Sir, in case of a fatal struggle, who could be found here to range them-

selves on your side? Two great parties now divide the world: you were born at the source of liberal ideas, and I will not do you the injustice to think that they do not still form the foundation of your opinions; but, by a strange anomaly, you are at this moment the direct agent, as it were, of the old aristocracy. If, therefore, you were ever obliged to appeal to public opinion respecting acts of the nature of those now alluded to, be certain that you would have all those of your own political creed in every nation against you. And do not flatter yourself that you would, at least, have all those of the opposite party on your side; I belonged to it for some time, I know its good and bad qualities; and nobody can deny that, notwithstanding its political heresies, it possesses, in a high degree, elevation of mind and generosity of sentiment. It would desert you.

“I have now told you candidly all the grievances, all the motives of animosity which have recurred to my mind. I have spoken to you with the utmost freedom, but with the best intentions; not with the acrimonious feeling of resentment which endeavours to wound, but with a sincere desire to impart information. I now again repeat, that if I have been mistaken in any of my assertions, it is for want of access to the official document; and that if I have not stated the truth on other points, I have erred unintentionally, and have really believed or felt all that I have written.

“ I sincerely hope that you will read this statement in the same disposition of mind in which it was penned ; and I have pleasure in assuring you once more that I have been actuated much less by a desire of addressing you in a tone of reproach, than by a wish to enable you to reflect, and reply — perhaps to atone ; were it even at my own expense. May its perusal be productive of useful information, and tend to improve matters for the future ! And this, Sir, is perhaps the moment to inform you of the state in which I left Longwood. No language is sufficient to describe it adequately : existence had become intolerable. Deprived of all communication, in a state of absolute seclusion, our hours seemed of lead ; even the air which we breathed appeared like an insipid poison ; the feeling of utter disgust for life had reached its height, the weight of it was beyond our strength ; and to crown our misfortunes we saw him for whom alone we lived, hourly wearing away, and by a tacit smile informing us every day more and more significantly, that ere long he would deliver us from our chains . . . My tears flow ! . . . Such was the wretchedness of our situation in that abode, that if it were possible for us to suspend for an instant the sacred duty which occupies and governs our minds, if it were possible, in a word, that a moment of absence of mind should occur, which would restore each to the contemplation of self, I should not be surprised if my unfortunate companions,

were to use it, like some of the ancients, to kill each other mutually, in order to free themselves from the miseries of existence; and if you were to be informed some day that Longwood is nothing but a sepulchre, and that a few dead bodies are all that remains in your custody.

“Such a state of things, such sufferings, are they in harmony with the principles and the wishes of your Prince, of your Ministers, your legislature, your nation, of your own heart? What a fatality!

. . . Whence then proceeds all the misery which you produce?

“Be that as it may, Sir, far or near, one feeling alone must occupy my heart and silence every other: watch over the Emperor’s health, preserve his life, and I will bless you.”

“COUNT DE LAS CASES.”

*“From my close confinement at Balcombe’s Cottage,  
in sight of Longwood, December 19, 1816.”*

I heard no more of this statement until six years after, and then only through the medium of Dr. O’Meara’s work. The gentlemen of the Emperor’s suite, on their return from St. Helena, informed me that it had never been communicated to them, and that the Emperor was wholly ignorant of its contents. It appears, that after my departure, Sir Hudson Lowe, by the influence of his authority, and contrary to our express conditions, had taken the manuscript exclusively into



his own possession, and had made it the subject of false interpretations or wicked inventions.

Mr. O'Meara, in his account of the occurrences which took place at St. Helena, observes, that Sir H. Lowe, availing himself of the information acquired by the perusal of the manuscript (the grievances), had recourse to an artifice well worthy of the system which he set on foot. He directed Mr. O'Meara to inform Napoleon, that during my confinement, I had confessed that the restrictions imposed on the French at Longwood were merely matters of form ; and that I, as well as the rest of the French, had endeavoured to poison the mind of our Master, by means of calumny and falsehood ; adding that this fact was unquestionable, since he had it stated in my own hand-writing. He even pretended to quote a sentence of this manuscript, which he requested Mr. O'Meara to repeat to the Emperor, and by which he wished to make it appear that I had confessed that the French about the person of the Emperor, had made him view every thing through *a veil dyed in blood*. On hearing this, the Emperor observed: *Certainly, wherever one sees an executioner, one sees blood*. And he added, that he was convinced this was an invention of Sir Hudson Lowe, or a misrepresentation of some passage in my statement. On this occasion, Mr. O'Meara describes the Emperor to have said : " Las Cases certainly was greatly irritated against him (Sir H. Lowe), and contributed

“ materially towards forming the impression existing upon my mind, because Las Cases is a man of a feeling mind, and extremely sensible to the ill treatment which has been put in practice towards me and himself. But I had no occasion for the assistance of Las Cases towards giving me that opinion, as the treatment I experienced was fully sufficient in itself to create it.”

He observed that I had constantly spoken to him of the English nation, in terms of enthusiasm and admiration; though I certainly had expressed myself candidly and energetically respecting the treatment which the French had experienced at St. Helena, which I considered to be entirely contrary to the generosity and liberal sentiments of the English people.

In Mr. O'Meara's work, entitled *Napoleon in Exile*, I find it mentioned, under date of Dec. 4, 1816, that Sir Hudson Lowe said “ I had much altered my opinion concerning him since the intercourse we had had together;” and he added “ that the French who were with General Bonaparte only wanted to make an instrument of him, to aggrandize themselves, without caring by what means they effected it,” &c. Sir H. Lowe wished that Mr. O'Meara should signify this to the Emperor.

Under date of the 12th of Dec. Sir Hudson Lowe is described as having said that “ Count Las Cases had not followed General Bonaparte out of affec-

"tion;" and that "General Bonaparte did not know what Las Cases had written, or the expressions which had dropped from him."

Again, under date of Jan. 14, 1817, Mr. O'Meara says: "His Excellency began to inveigh against Count Las Cases, whom he accused of having been the cause of much mischief between Bonaparte and himself. He said, the Count had asserted in his Journal, that Bonaparte had declared he abhorred the sight of the British uniform, or of a British officer; that he held both in abomination, and that I had better take an opportunity to tell him this, and add, that I had heard him (the Governor) say, that he did not believe he had ever said so."

Finally, on another occasion, the Governor charged Mr. O'Meara to repeat, at Longwood, that he had written to the English Ministers respecting me in such a way as would for ever prevent my return to France. What he could have written, Heaven knows! However, the result proved that either the English Ministers were not much influenced by his benevolent intentions, or that the French Ministers paid little regard to the representations that were made to them. It will hereafter be seen that, on my return to Europe, when I was prevented from residing in England, and it was left at my own option to proceed either to Calais or Ostend, I made choice of the latter place, for reasons totally foreign from the alarm

which Sir Hudson Lowe pretended he had created. But, it would appear, he himself doubted the efficacy of his denunciation, or he had recourse to two-fold precautions, for he employed all his art and address to procure my detention as a prisoner at the Cape of Good Hope. I have been informed that, when speaking to his man of allwork respecting me, he said—"As for him, he will trouble us no longer. We have given him good recommendations to the Cape: he will *rot* in a dungeon there." This same man, with the gentle smile and honied voice which rarely forsook him, wished, as Mr. O'Meara declares, that Napoleon should be put in irons if he proved troublesome; and, on another occasion, he is stated to have said, "That the Allies lost sight of the grand object, in not strangling young Napoleon!"

But to return to my former subject. How was I to reconcile the Governor's politeness, his protestations of kindness and good intention when he was near me, with his false reports, the invented language which he attributed to me, and the wicked suggestions which he transmitted to Longwood, when I was no longer there? Let candid and honest hearts decide this.

The Cape of Good Hope is 500 leagues from St. Helena; but, even with the most favourable winds, the passage must be lengthened to at least 700, by the circuitous course which it is necessary to take on account of the trade winds.

A vessel, on leaving St. Helena, first stands well out to the south-west, in order to get as speedily as possible beyond the trade winds. As soon as the variable winds are attained, the ship steers towards the east, but descending considerably to the south, several degrees of latitude below the Cape, in order to guard against the south-easterly winds, which blow with great violence at this season of the year.

We had a very good voyage, and fell in with the winds just as we wished. Our passage was short and pleasant, though my son and I occasionally suffered severely from sea-sickness. On the 6th or 7th we got out of the trade winds, and fell in with the west wind, which brought us to our place of destination in nine or ten days. It was not until we were approaching the famous Cape of storms that we encountered a violent adverse wind, blowing from the south-east, accompanied by a very rough sea. But this circumstance was adverse only with respect to the instructions of our Captain; to me, personally, it was extremely fortunate. Sir Hudson Lowe had directed the Captain to land me beyond the Cape, at Simon's Bay, which is situated behind it. Probably he supposed that, by not entering the town, I should attract the less attention, and that the injustice of my captivity would be the less flagrant. Be this as it may, we were threatened with a storm, and the Captain took upon himself the responsibility of sailing for

Cape Town, which was nearer at hand. We arrived off the coast at two in the morning, precisely at the hour which the Captain had foretold, without sounding or any other preliminary measure. Captain Wright is an excellent navigator ; he possesses activity, zeal, regularity, and decision ; and will, I doubt not, one day rise to eminence. I have observed that this nautical precision is now nearly general among the English. I know not what has been done in our navy, which was so long celebrated for scientific superiority ; but I can affirm, from experience, that the English have attained great perfection. Their calculations are so correct, and their nautical instruments so perfect, that it is difficult to conceive that science is susceptible of further improvement.

We cast anchor at two o'clock in the afternoon on the 17th, after a passage of eighteen days. The Captain politely apologized for the necessity of detaining me on board, until he should go and receive the Governor's orders : such were his instructions. He returned, informing me that I could not land until the 19th, as the residence which was intended for me, could not be prepared before that time. This was rather a disappointment to me ; for after a sea voyage one is naturally so eager to set foot on land.

Thus I had to remain two days in the harbour of the Cape, which is extremely beautiful. The weather was delightful ; excessively hot, it is true,

but the air was at the same time pure and refreshing.

In my youth, when I first entered the navy, I had frequently heard the officers, who had served in India, describe all the different points, which were at this moment before my eyes. I felt a pleasure in reviving these old recollections; and all the places I mentioned, were immediately pointed out to me by the persons on board the ship.

Cape Town is a tolerably extensive place, and is built in a style of beauty and regularity. It is situated on flat ground, very little above the level of the sea, and is almost closely surrounded by huge precipitous mountains. On my left was the Devil's Mountain; before me rose the Table Mountain; and on my right were the Sugarloaf, and the Lion's Rump, so called from their exact resemblance to the objects after which they are named. The fortifications in front and on each side of the town, appeared to me to be in a very bad state, and particularly ill situated, being commanded by several points, and especially by the Lion's Rump, which is itself easily accessible. I was not at all surprised that the garrison should have yielded to every attack of forces, however little superior to its own. The most effectual plan, until this defect be remedied, would be to land at a distance from the garrison, to the north, on an open part of the sea-beach, entirely defenceless,

and from thence, to march to attack the town by land. I recollected having heard it said, that the clouds sometimes suddenly cover the Table and Devil's Mountain, even when the rest of the sky appears perfectly serene. I had myself an opportunity of observing this curious phenomenon, during the short time I remained in the harbour. On these occasions, the mountains appear to be covered with snow, of the most dazzling whiteness, and this is vulgarly called *spreading the table-cloth*, which expression certainly conveys a very accurate idea of the spectacle presented. In winter, this peculiar appearance of the clouds, is almost always the precursor of a storm. The harbour is entirely exposed to the north-west winds, which are frequent and violent in the bad season of the year. The shipping is then liable to great danger; the only shelter is under Robbin Island, at some distance from the entrance of the bay.

I mentioned to the individuals on board the ship, an anecdote which I had often heard our naval officers relate. Suffren, on returning from the campaign of India, at the time of the peace, cast anchor at the Cape, some days before the English squadron, by which he was closely followed. The latter, on entering the harbour, had to tack, in order to gain the anchorage. On observing one of the ships as she entered, the French Admiral, at the very first glance, foretold that she would infallibly be lost, and he immediately or-



dered a signal to be given for all the boats belonging to his squadron to be in readiness to render assistance. In a few moments, the English ship ran aground; boats were sent off from all points; but the French had the glory of being the first to arrive. It was described as being a singular and affecting spectacle to see the two squadrons, which had lately been so desperately intent on mutual destruction, now vying with each other in the benevolent task of succouring the distressed. The young English officers, to whom I related this circumstance, informed me that they had never before heard of it; so true it is that facts, which powerfully occupy the attention of contemporaries, are lost to the succeeding generation, when they are not of a nature to acquire historical importance.

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## MY RESIDENCE AT THE CAPE.

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An Interval of upwards of Seven Months.

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### *My Confinement at the Old Castle, &c.*

FROM the 19th to the 28th of January.—When the Captain returned from his visit to the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, his countenance sufficiently informed me, that he had nothing agree-

able to communicate. He was no longer the same man ; his behaviour was cold and embarrassed, and his reserve was soon imitated by all the other persons on board. Several naval officers belonging to different ships in the harbour came to visit their friends on board the Griffin. I could easily perceive that they felt a certain degree of curiosity to see me, though they avoided as much as possible entering into conversation with me. They spoke to each other aside ; and, by their looks, seemed to consider me as an outlaw. From these circumstances, and certain expressions that escaped from the persons about me, I could perceive that, in spite of the distance, the security of the great captive was the subject of as much alarm and distrust here, as at St. Helena ; and I had every reason to expect that the dark cloud which enveloped Longwood, would be extended over me at the Cape. Accordingly, as soon as I was put on shore at noon, I was met by the officer appointed to guard me. Captain Wright, who took me ashore in his boat, for the sake of old acquaintance, and I hope also from sincere sympathy, declined leaving me until I should be safely lodged in the abode that was destined for me. We therefore walked together to what is called the old castle or fort. After crossing several drawbridges, and passing many sentinels, we arrived in the inner court yard or parade, and from thence by various staircases and galleries, we reached the lodging assigned to us. The doors were locked. It was necessary to search

for the keys; and in the meanwhile, we were requested to wait in a room, which was occupied by several officers of the garrison. By chance, an officer of the staff entered. He seemed to be greatly surprised to find we were thus left in free communication with the persons about us; and assuming a polite pretence, he conducted us to his own apartment to partake of some refreshment. After a few hours had elapsed, a messenger was sent to inform us, that our apartments were ready. They consisted of three rooms, which we were enabled to discover in proportion as the cloud of dust with which they were filled gradually dispersed; for they had but that moment been swept. The first room was entirely empty; the middle one contained a large table, an arm-chair, with broken feet, and four other wretched chairs; the third contained two bedsteads, two bolsters, one mattress and three coverlets: this was the whole of the valuable furniture. It was well that we had taken the precaution of bringing our beds with us from St. Helena. I was at a loss to comprehend how two days could have been occupied in such preparations. This circumstance did not afford me a very high notion of the regularity, precision, or promptitude of the new authority under which I was now placed.

The officer who had charge of us, installed himself in the first room. A sentinel was immediately stationed on the outside, and I was informed that I must not communicate with any

one. I now found myself literally a prisoner. I had complained of Balcombe's cottage; but here I was infinitely worse off. This, thought I, is the first effect of Sir Hudson Lowe's kind recommendations.

Dinner was served. It was ordered by our officer, and was abundant. The staff-officer, who had used the precautionary politeness of conducting us to his apartment in the morning, thinking himself already on a footing of intimacy, or perhaps, being specially charged to watch over us, came familiarly to invite me to dinner. He and his comrade appeared to exert themselves to do the honours of the table in the most agreeable way. They seemed anxious to shew me every attention; but I did not feel myself at ease, and alleging as an excuse the fatigue I had encountered during the day, I withdrew, leaving them *tête à tête* over the bottle; and they sat until late in the night, according to established custom.

On the following day, I received a visit from one of the captains of our station at St. Helena. Knowing the state of my son's health, he brought a medical gentleman along with him. This was a mark of attention on his part, but the introduction occasioned, for some moments, a curious misunderstanding. I mistook the Captain's medical friend for his son or nephew. The grave Doctor, who was presented to me, was a boy of eighteen, with the form, the manners, and the voice of a woman. But Mr. Barry (such was his name) was

described to be an absolute phenomenon. I was informed that he had obtained his diploma at the age of thirteen, after the most rigid examination ; that he had performed extraordinary cures at the Cape, and had saved the life of one of the Governor's daughters, after she had been given up, which rendered him a sort of favourite in the family. I profited by this latter circumstance, to obtain some information which might serve as a guide for my conduct with respect to the new Governor, to whom I that day addressed a letter, explaining my situation, and formally requesting to be sent to England, and restored to full and complete liberty. My letter was as follows :—

“ MY LORD,—Having been for several days under your authority, I take the liberty of addressing myself to your Excellency, in order to ascertain what are your intentions respecting me. Owing to a circumstance, of a nature wholly personal to myself, I was removed from Longwood, at St. Helena, on the 25th of November last, by Sir Hudson Lowe, the Governor of that island.

“ A few days afterwards, in consequence of several conversations with the Governor, though without his coming to any decision on my case, I wrote to inform him, that from that moment I should withdraw from my voluntary subjection to him, and place myself entirely under the jurisdiction of the laws. I demanded that he would enforce the laws with respect to me ; observing,

that if guilty, I ought to be tried, and if not guilty, I ought to be restored to freedom. I added, that the critical state of my son's health, and also my own, imperiously demanded medical remedies of every kind, and I entreated that he would send us to England. Sir Hudson Lowe then seemed to hesitate. I have reason to believe, that at first, he entertained some idea of sending me to Europe. But he next determined to detain me at St. Helena, separated from Longwood, until the return of answers from England. He then several times offered to allow me to return to Longwood; and finally, he sent me to the Cape, under your Excellency's orders, thus, as it appears to me, seizing the literal interpretation of his instructions, in order to put an end to his embarrassments, and perhaps to await the same results respecting me; but without himself risking any personal responsibility. Such, my Lord, is the brief statement of facts which I conceive it necessary to submit to you, in order that you may form a correct idea of my real situation. I hope you will consider as perfectly natural, inoffensive and regular, the request which I have now the honour to address to you, and which is, that I may be sent to England as speedily as possible, and be restored to full and complete liberty, as far as my natural rights may claim consistently with your political duties.

“ I have the honour,” &c.

“ P. S.—I beg that your Excellency will be pleased to inform me whether I may be allowed to write to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and his Ministers. If that permission be granted, I shall do myself the honour of addressing to your Excellency, two letters, with the request that you will forward them to England without delay. I shall also be obliged, if you will let me know when there is an opportunity of communicating with St. Helena, as I have to address some papers to Sir Hudson Lowe.”

Two days afterwards, I received the Governor's answer. It was very brief. Without entering into any particulars, he merely declared that he considered me as a prisoner *on the report of Sir Hudson Lowe*, and condemned me to remain at the Cape, until instructions arrived from England. I could make no resistance; I was compelled to submit. This I intimated to Lord Charles Somerset, in a second letter, in which I enclosed two others; the first addressed to Lord Castlereagh, requesting his Lordship to lay the second before the Prince Regent. My letter to Lord Charles Somerset, was as follows:—

“ MY LORD,—I have received the answer which your Excellency addressed to me, and from which I learn that I am to be detained a prisoner here, until Sir Hudson Lowe shall receive answers from England respecting me. Doubtless, your Excellency has, in your wisdom, accurately weighed the

force of the reasons which induce you to adopt a measure of so serious a nature, as that of depriving me of my liberty, without any previous judicial forms, and even without my being made acquainted with the cause of my detention. All I can do is to submit to authority, and to rely on those laws, which will protect me if I be entitled to protection.

“ I shall not undertake any ulterior argument for my defence, being persuaded that you, my Lord, in the justice of your heart, when you determined on adopting so delicate a course, must have attentively considered the whole of my cause. However, I perceive from your answer, that your decision rests on circumstances stated respecting me by Sir Hudson Lowe. But have these circumstances been satisfactorily proved in your Excellency's eyes? Have you heard both sides of the question; or do you think yourself screened from all personal responsibility, by acting on the authority of Sir Hudson Lowe's instructions, and without any regard to my remonstrances? How happens it that Sir Hudson Lowe could not venture, without risk, to detain me at St. Helena, while he finds it more easy and less inconvenient to do so at the Cape?

“ If your Excellency should wish to render yourself acquainted with my affair, and to ascertain my sentiments, I am ready to submit to your perusal all my correspondence with the Governor



of St. Helena, and to lay before you my letters to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent and his Ministers. I make this offer with the wish that it may be accepted. If to subject myself voluntarily, on my arrival in England, to any measures, however arbitrary, which might be deemed equivalent to my political quarantine here, would induce you to alter your determination, I am ready to accede willingly to that condition: such is my ardent desire to return to Europe, owing to the state of my son's health, and my own; and also on account of the melancholy solitude in which I find myself placed, separated as I am from my family, which is most dear to me, and from the revered object for whose sake I made the sad sacrifice of leaving my country.

“ Finally, my Lord, if there remain no chance of my liberation, at least permit my son to depart. Let him not fall a victim to circumstances, to which his age must render him wholly a stranger. I willingly consent to see him separated from me, in the hope of securing to him a happier lot than that which seems to be reserved for me. I will remain here alone, to struggle with my infirmities and sorrows, to which I shall resign myself with the greater indifference, when I reflect that my child is released from the sentence of lingering death which is executing on me, though I have been tried by no tribunal, and condemned by no judge.

" I have the honour to address to your Excellency a letter to Lord Castlereagh, enclosing one for his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. These letters were written before I received the information which you had the goodness to communicate to me on this subject. I know not to which of the Ministers I ought to have addressed myself; but I consider it unnecessary to write the letter over again, as the state of my eyes renders writing a very painful task, and I find that I have observed the necessary forms."

*Letter to Lord Castlereagh, enclosing that addressed to the Prince Regent.*

" MY LORD,—As I know not to which of your colleagues I ought to appeal, I address myself to you, being the individual of whom I have acquired the greatest knowledge through public events. If the details relating to St. Helena have been communicated to your Lordship, they must, doubtless, have inspired you with great prejudice against me; and yet, had they been properly explained, my conduct must have appeared to you worthy of esteem, and, perhaps, even have excited your interest.

" At Longwood I considered myself within a sacred boundary, of which it was my duty to defend the approaches. I would willingly have died on the breach: *I resisted*. But now, when I find myself removed from the revered circle, and

again mingling with the common mass, I assume another attitude: *I implore*.

“ I therefore beg and entreat, my Lord, and I speak in the supposition that I am addressing the Minister to whom this appeal ought to be directed, I entreat that you will allow me to proceed to England, since the alarming state of my son's health and my own, renders skilful and prompt medical treatment necessary.

“ What reason can there be for refusing my request? It cannot be personal hatred? I am too obscure to attain such an honour. It cannot be the vague dislike arising from difference of opinion? You are so much accustomed to difference of this kind in England, and it is cherished with so little rancour, that it would be ridiculous to suppose such a circumstance could operate to my prejudice. Can it be the fear that I should write or speak of the affairs of St. Helena? But would not your refusal to grant my request, in some measure authorize the bitterness which it will be so easy to vent elsewhere? Besides, if your object were to restrain me from publishing, my residence in England would surely render this object the more secure and easy; for there you have not only general laws, but also particular laws, against such offences. When the individual is near you, you have, as positive guarantees, his prudence, his judgment, and, above all, his wish of remaining in the country.

“ Thus, my Lord, I see no motive for refusing my request ; but I see many reasons for granting it. You would, by this means, have the fairest opportunity of arriving at the truth, by procuring contradictory and opposite statements. In discharging the noble functions of a juror, can you satisfy your conscience by viewing only one side of the question ? I can shew you the other ; and I will do so, without prejudice or passion. You will find that I am inspired only by sentiment.

“ I must now call your Lordship’s attention to my papers which are detained at St. Helena. I have several times explained their nature ; but I will once more describe them. They are a collection of manuscripts, in the form of a journal, in which, for the space of eighteen months, I inscribed all that I learned, saw, or heard respecting him, who, in my eyes is, and will ever continue to be, the greatest of men. This journal, which was incomplete, incorrect, unarranged, and, from its nature, requiring continual correction, was a secret, which was revealed only by the circumstance that took place previously to my departure from St. Helena. Its existence was unknown, except perhaps by the august individual who was the object of it ; and even he is, at this moment, ignorant of its contents. It was not destined to be published during my life ; and I took pleasure in endeavouring to render it a complete and valuable historical monument. My Lord, I beg that you will order

the whole of those papers to be forwarded to you. This you may do without inconvenience. I solemnly protest that they contain nothing that can, either directly or indirectly, be necessary or useful to the local authority of St. Helena, in furtherance of the great object with which that authority is intrusted. The inspection of my papers at St. Helena can be productive of no advantage ; but, on the contrary, may occasion serious inconvenience, by aggravating, through the personal allusions contained in them, the ill-humour and irritation that already prevail in too great a degree.

“ If, on my arrival in England, your Lordship, from your political situation, should think proper to order the examination of these papers, which are of so sacred and private a nature, I shall cheerfully submit to your judgment, because the examination will take place under my own cognizance, and I shall have the security of those inviolable and sacred forms, which I am sure your Lordship will direct to be observed. I trust you will not refuse this second favour, which I urgently solicit.

“ My Lord, I have the honour to forward to you a letter for the Prince Regent, which I beg you will do me the favour to lay before His Royal Highness. My profound respect for his august person alone prevents me from sending it unsealed ; and I authorize your Lordship to open it, if custom admits of your doing so.—I have the honour,” &c.

*Letter to the Prince Regent of England.*

“ROYAL HIGHNESS,—The sport of the political tempest, wandering without a home, an unfortunate foreigner presumes, confidently to appeal to your royal heart.

“Twice in the course of my life, I have had the misfortune to leave my country; on both occasions contrary to my interests, and with the intention of fulfilling great and noble duties. During my first exile, my abode in England assuaged the sorrows of my youth, and I trusted that England would again afford me an asylum in which I might enjoy a little tranquillity in my old age. However, I have reason to apprehend that I shall be driven from thence. Why should I be visited with this severity? Can it be on account of the place from whence I came, the attentions which I took pleasure in administering there, and the tender sentiments which I shall ever entertain towards the individual from whom I am now separated? But, Prince, at Longwood I was practising a great and singular virtue; I was supporting, with my worthy companions, the honour of those who surround the thrones of monarchs. After the example we have presented, it cannot henceforth be said that love and fidelity are never shewn to unfortunate sovereigns.

“Should such conduct occasion me to be per-

secuted and banished from the asylum I seek? Surely, he who was always great, when the raved for me from the rock of adversity, these words so gratifying to my heart: *Whether you return to France, or go elsewhere, always boast of the fidelity you have shewn to me.*—surely he, I say, has given me a right and title to the regard of all kings. Prince! I throw myself on your royal protection.

“During my daily intercourse and conversations with him who once ruled the world, and filled the universe with his name, I conceived and executed the intention of writing down daily all that I saw of him, and all that I heard him say.

“This Journal, which includes an interval of eighteen months, and which is single in its kind, but as yet incomplete, incorrect, undetermined, and unknown to all, even the august individual to whom it related,—has been taken from me, and detained at St. Helena. Prince, I also place it under your royal protection, and I venture to entreat that you will receive it into your care, for the sake of justice, truth and history.

“If your Highness should in your goodness deign to afford me your august protection, I shall hasten to seek, in England, an asylum where I may tranquilly recollect and deplore.

“I am, with the most profound respect,

“COUNT LAS CASES.”

I received in answer, from Lord Charles Somerset, the permission I had solicited for my son to proceed to Europe by the first opportunity. I wished my son to avail himself of this permission. I urged and even commanded him to do so ; but he positively refused. On this subject he wrote a letter to the Governor, which was so gratifying to my feelings, and reflected so much honour on his own heart, that I cannot forbear transcribing it. It was as follows :—

“ MY LORD,—My father has just communicated to me the permission you grant me to return to Europe. He has entreated and commanded me to accept it.

“ I cannot, my Lord, avail myself of your indulgence, and I presume to disobey my father. Bodily afflictions are nothing ; the sufferings of the heart alone are hard to be endured. I have been deprived of my mother, and I every moment deplore my separation from her ; yet I will never forsake my father in a foreign country, and in a situation so different from all that he has been accustomed to. My health is an object of no importance to me. I shall be happy if I can afford any consolation to my father, and alleviate, by sharing, the miseries which have long been accumulating upon him.

“ I prefer dying by his side to living at a distance from him. I am too proud of his distin-



guished virtues, and too eager to imitate his example, to separate from him for a moment. I am ready to die here, since it must be so: there will be two victims instead of one.

“ I thank you, my Lord, with all my heart, for your kind intentions respecting me. How grateful should I have been, how should I have blessed you, had you extended them to my father !

“ I have the honour to be,” &c.

This letter had, doubtless, been read by the family of Lord Charles Somerset, and produced those favourable sentiments which it was naturally calculated to inspire. On the following day, when the young Doctor called to see us, I wished to draw him aside for the purpose of requesting that he would exert his professional influence over my son to induce him to depart. But instead of listening to me, he hastened to Emanuel's chamber, and embracing him, expressed his approval of his conduct, observing that he should not have respected him had he acted otherwise. Conducting him to the window, he introduced him to two ladies, whom he had left in their carriage, and mutual salutation passed between them. These ladies were the two daughters of Lord Charles Somerset, who had this morning themselves brought the Doctor as far as the court yard fronting our prison, probably for the purpose of

satisfying the interest and curiosity which my son's letter had excited.

Our situation continued to be most deplorable. We were confined in a sort of dungeon: our windows, without curtains, overlooked a court yard covered with scorching sand. Though it was now the month of January, we experienced in this hemisphere, the burning heat of summer. We were almost suffocated.

We were still subject to the same restrictions and the same vexations, and the same officers presided at breakfast and dinner. This last circumstance was a particular annoyance to me. I determined to avoid it, and I therefore kept my bed and had my meals served to me there; being determined not to leave my chamber until I should be released from the torments that surrounded me. I was, besides, very unwell from pains in my stomach; I was occasionally feverish, and in short, my health was totally deranged. The officer on duty informed me, it is true, that he had orders to conduct me into the town and even the environs, whenever I should express a wish to that effect. I thanked him, and though I could not myself profit by this favour, I accepted it for my son.

Meanwhile, nobody came near me. Whether it was that the officer, knowing me to be unwell, thought he was rendering me service, or whether he was acting in conformity with orders, I know

not: but he repulsed all who attempted to approach me. This gave rise to a curious circumstance. Our chamber door led into a corridor, along which we were permitted to walk: having one day proceeded to the end of it, I found, contrary to custom, a little door open, leading to a steep staircase. Curiosity induced me to ascend, and I found myself on the platform of the fort, whence I could command a view of Cape Town and the boundless ocean. Struck with the beauty of the spectacle, I became so wrapped in the meditations to which it gave rise, that two hours elapsed ere I thought of returning. By chance I had come out while my son was taking a walk with our officer. In the interim the sentinel had been changed, and when I presented myself at the door leading to our apartments, the soldier placed his musket across it, and rudely refused to admit me. The more I insisted on being admitted, the more angrily he expressed his determination to exclude me. This appeared to me odd enough, but I thought it still more droll when I found it necessary to descend the staircase, pass through the court yards to the outward guardhouse and obtain entrance to my prison by main force. The officer on duty, alarmed at sight of me, ran furiously to the sentinel who was posted on the outside of our apartments, and a violent altercation ensued between them. The officer severely reprimanded the man and threatened to have him punished. The

soldier, with his eyes starting out of his head, declared that he had discharged his duty; and I, who remained a tranquil spectator, could not forbear smiling at this curious dispute, the cause of which no one could explain but myself. However, peace was soon established at the expense of the captive. I was again placed under confinement, and order was restored in the fort.

The only stranger I saw was Doctor Barry, who frequently visited me. I found his company very agreeable. He constantly recommended me to take care of my health. He said he could guess the seat of my disorder, and regretted that it was out of his power to prescribe any remedy for me. I assured him that the greatest favour he could confer on me would be to procure a person who could read to me and write to my dictation. This I had been vainly soliciting since my arrival, for the state of my eyes precluded all occupation, and my son was strictly desired to abstain from all sedentary employment. I therefore laboured under an intolerable depression of spirits, in being thus wholly abandoned to my melancholy thoughts.

The Doctor informed me that the Governor was about to depart, to make a tour over the colony, and that he would be absent about three months. This information precluded the hope of any change in my condition. I determined to make a last attempt, not that I counted on its success,

but only because I wished to leave nothing untried; for the horrible and truly discourteous way in which I had been treated, astonished me less than it was calculated to do. I was prepared for it. At St. Helena we had been repeatedly informed that Lord Charles Somerset was our personal enemy, and on my arrival at the Cape, when I made inquiries respecting his character and the sort of reception I was likely to experience, I was told that nothing but a dog or a horse could claim his attention. Subsequently, in the solitude of my prison, I often thought to myself that being neither a dog nor a horse, I might despair of obtaining any notice from the Governor. I shall soon shew how little Lord Charles Somerset deserved these reflections.

Profiting by a passage in his letter, in which he expressed a wish to render my stay at the Cape as agreeable as possible, I took the opportunity in my next letter to candidly communicate to him my thoughts respecting the treatment I experienced. My letter was as follows:—

“MY LORD,—I learn that your Excellency is on the eve of leaving Cape Town, and that you will be absent for a considerable time: this induces me, with extreme repugnance, to enter upon a disagreeable subject, and to call your Excellency’s attention to a few domestic details. I think it my duty to do this, for otherwise should any public expression of dissatisfaction hereafter escape me,

I might justly incur the reproach of having addressed no complaint to your Excellency.

“ But before I enter on the subject, my Lord, to prevent you from regarding as ridiculous, the facts which I am about to state ; and also to afford you a just idea of the circumstances in which I am placed, of which I think it very probable your Excellency is ignorant, permit me to observe, with all the embarrassment of one who is obliged to introduce himself, that there is no individual here with whom I may not, and ought not naturally and without reserve to place myself on a level *in every respect whatever*. Finally, I neither request, nor solicit, any indulgence or favour relative to my personal wants, wishing in this respect to depend entirely on my own resources.

“ These two points being fixed and determined, I proceed to that passage in your letter, in which you have the goodness to express your wish of rendering my stay here as agreeable as possible. On this subject, I must acquaint your Excellency, that I am imprisoned in a kind of dungeon, in which it will be difficult for me much longer to support existence.

“ My son and I, who are both unwell, are, in this extremely hot weather, lodged in a very small chamber, where we breathe unwholesome air, and have scarcely room to move, for our beds nearly fill it. The scorching rays of the sun, reflecting on a window without curtains, compel me to pass the

day in bed. There is, it is true, another adjoining apartment of the same kind; but it is a dining room, where two of your officers do the honours of the table. If I occasionally enter this room, I count every moment I spend in it. There is a third room, which is occupied by the officer who is appointed as our guard, and through which I must pass, however unpleasant to me, on every indispensable occasion.

“Whatever may be the hardships and miseries of such a situation, I have been a sailor, I have been a soldier, and what is more, I am a man, and I can in silence endure this and even more. I speak here, only in answer to the obliging paragraph in your letter. There is no fire in our apartments; so that if we should require warm water, on account of my son’s health, or any transient wants, we must either do without it, or have recourse to the charity of our neighbours. The Doctor has in vain prescribed the use of the bath for my son; no water can be obtained for this purpose. If I feel a wish to procure any little thing at my own expense, I am informed that your Excellency has ordered every thing to be provided for me; and thus from motives of delicacy I repress my wish, and abstain from gratifying it.

“I spare your Excellency a multitude of details, which are equally beneath your notice and mine. When the hour of dinner arrives, two officers,

who, I feel pleasure in acknowledging, treat me with great politeness and respect, preside at the table. But it is a singular fact, though a very certain one, that even their attentions add to my discomfort, by obliging me to endeavour to return them in a suitable way, though it would be far more natural and desirable for me to allow my thoughts to wander far from the spot in which I am now situated. Besides, our habits and manners are totally different. I find myself under the necessity of sitting for several hours at table, when I should not from choice sit for half an hour. All conversation must be disagreeable to me, unless it be on the subject which now wholly occupies my thoughts. Your Excellency has too much judgment not to perceive, that the situation in which I am placed is an absolute torment to me. My melancholy is, doubtless, as irksome to my table companions, as their gaiety is annoying to me. Perfect solitude is alone agreeable to me; and, therefore, I have completely withdrawn from the dinner table, and I take my meals in bed.

“Where is the necessity for an officer being attached to my person? I presume to ask your Excellency this question, while at the same time I repeat with pleasure, that I cannot sufficiently express my satisfaction of the individual whom you have appointed to attend me. Is it for the purpose of watching me? Surely the sentinel posted at my door, is sufficient for that purpose. Can it



be intended as a mark of respect, for the sake of transferring any wish that I may express? But I have no wish. Can it be to give the sanction of authority to any visits I may receive? I can receive none, except such as are permitted by authority. Is it for the purposes of accompanying me in my walks? I will never consent to stir a step, if I must be a charge to an officer. I shall not therefore go abroad.

“ Since, my Lord, you are determined that I shall remain your prisoner, what objection can you have to placing me in a house in the town, and permitting me to engage, at my own expense, any valet, cook, &c. that may suit me, with the precautions that you may think proper to adopt. When thus left to myself, your Excellency might provide as you pleased for my security. You would hear no more of me. If I felt a wish to go out in a carriage, or otherwise, I could write to the officer: I know his obliging disposition, and my wish would be granted. I have mentioned a house in the town, my Lord, because the state of my son’s health, which requires constant, and often sudden medical attendance, renders a residence in the country objectionable.

“ Such are the details to which I feel myself compelled to call your Excellency’s attention. I hope that they may be less disagreeable and painful to you than they are to me.

“ I have the honour to be,” &c.

This letter was, from its nature, calculated to lead to a decisive result. I received an immediate answer. The Adjutant-General came to inform me, in the name of the Governor—1st. That he had given orders that a separate chamber should be assigned to my son on the following day ;—2d. That the officers should no longer take their meals with us ;—3d. That a more convenient residence was preparing for us ; and, finally, that if I had any other wish to express, endeavours would be made to comply with it.

Such was the effect of my letter. It was successful beyond my hopes, and I congratulated myself on having written it, because it afforded me the opportunity of discovering traits in the character of Lord Charles Somerset, of which I had previously no idea. But this was not all.—Early on the following morning, the Governor's first Aide-de-camp wrote to acquaint me that he had a communication to make to me on the part of his Excellency, and he wished me to appoint the hour at which it would be convenient for me to receive him. On the receipt of my answer he came, and informed me that the Governor had that morning left town, to make a tour of three months. His Excellency had expressed himself very sorry to learn that I had been so exceedingly unwell, and begged that I would do him the justice to believe that he was entirely ignorant of the fact. The Aide-de-camp was instructed to tell me

that Lord Charles Somerset had nothing more at heart than to render my abode at the Cape as agreeable as it could be ; and he offered me the use of his country residence, the servants, and every thing belonging to it. He begged that I would take possession of it, repeating that, if I had any other wish, I need only name it and it would be complied with. I accepted, without hesitation, the offer of the change of residence, and the Aide-de-camp went to give the necessary orders for our immediate removal.

I now discovered how greatly the Governor's character had been misrepresented to me. I found that Lord Charles Somerset possessed the grace and courtesy of manners requisite for his high rank. How much men differ one from another ! At St. Helena such a letter as I had written would probably have had the effect of doubly riveting my chains ; but here it procured for me the offer of a palace. This fact is in itself sufficient to characterize the two authorities with whom I have had to treat. Lord Charles Somerset was, indeed, far from meriting the reports I had heard respecting him. Almost every man has his detractors ; and those who have high functions to discharge seldom escape the tongue of calumny. Lord Charles, as I had subsequently the opportunity of ascertaining, is a man distinguished for noble and generous feeling, moral principle, piety, and perfect benevolence. None of the vexations by which

I had been so greatly harassed proceeded from him, but from subordinate agents, who executed orders and influenced decisions. For the persons in authority here, who were the slaves of vulgar national prejudice, hated us as Frenchmen, and esteemed themselves happy in subjecting us to all the severity which it was in their power to inflict.

If I had enjoyed the advantage of personal intercourse with the Governor, in which, I have reason to believe, there would have been no difficulty, I doubt not that, in pleading my cause with Lord Charles Somerset, I should have obtained all I demanded, because my demands were perfectly just; but my situation withheld me from seeking access to him, and it seemed to be the wish of those about him to prevent him coming near me. He several times announced his intention of seeing me, it is true, but this intention was never fulfilled.

*Removal to Newlands, the Governor's Country Residence.—  
Details.*

From Jan. 29th to April 5th.—Early this morning, precisely at the hour that had been appointed, the Governor's Aide-de-camp drove up to the door of our prison in a carriage and four. We set out; and in less than three quarters of an hour we reached Newlands, the Governor's country house, which might be accounted a pleasant residence

even in Europe. I could easily perceive that several years had elapsed since the place had first received its name, for it was surrounded by lofty trees and thick groves: many of the fruit-trees were in full bearing.

One of the Governor's Aides-de-camp placed us in possession, with all due form and with the most studied politeness. He conducted me over the grounds, and pointed out to me every thing worthy of notice, without mentioning a word about limits or restrictions. He took an opportunity of adroitly hinting to me that the soldiers whom I saw posted about, were merely the Governor's ordinary guards, and had received none but their usual orders. He added, that I might consider myself at home, as every thing would be done under my own direction. He then took his leave.

When left to ourselves in this delightful place, we felt that we had been suddenly removed from a prison to a Paradise. The elegantly furnished apartments, the dovecots in the vicinity of the house, the birds of every kind that inhabited the grounds, the numerous flower-beds, groves, and delightful walks, and the silence and solitude that prevailed—all presented a somewhat magical effect, and reminded us of *Zemire and Azor*.

We had the use of the whole house, in which all the furniture remained just as it had been left by the Governor's family; not an article having been removed. My son, on opening a colour-box,

found an unfinished drawing, by one of the daughters of Lord Charles Somerset. It was a portrait of the revered object whose fate we deplore ; for where is his image not to be found ? Beside the drawing lay the copy from which it had been taken. It was a wretched sketch ; a sort of caricature likeness of the Emperor, which had been made on board the Northumberland. This thing seemed to haunt us wherever we went, and we always destroyed it with the ardent zeal of missionaries breaking the images of false gods. In the impulse of the moment my son made his poetical *debut*, by writing the following lines beneath Miss Somerset's unfinished drawing :—

Sous vos doigts élégans tout devrait s'embellir ;  
C'est aux belles surtout à peindre le courage :  
Du héros des héros, du Mars de l'avenir,  
Comment avez-vous pu défigurer l'image ?

I placed beside the drawing a small medal, which afforded a more faithful representation of Napoleon. We then shut up the box, pleased with our trick, and enjoying, in anticipation, Miss Somerset's surprise when she should one day read, and we hoped without anger, the censure which we had presumed to pronounce upon her drawing.

The Governor had carried his attention so far as to send from town a person to act as steward at Newlands, to receive from me daily orders for provisions ; and I was given to understand that I

might be supplied profusely with whatever I wished for. But I had adopted Spartan manners, and I desired to be supplied merely with necessaries. As to the steward, I changed his occupation, and made him my reader; in which capacity I found him a most valuable acquisition. By chance this person proved to be a relative of the only inhabitant of St. Helena with whom I had formed acquaintance. He was the nephew of the worthy Amphitryon, our good host of the Briars, for whom I entertain a sincere regard.

The Aide-de-camp visited us regularly, having received special instructions to see that we wanted for nothing. I begged that he would present my thanks and acknowledgments to Lord Charles Somerset, for the delicate way in which he sought to disguise our captivity. "But it was all one," I informed him; "since, in spite of ourselves, we must deplore our absence from St. Helena and Europe."

Our departure from prison and removal to Newlands, produced quite a revolution in our condition. We received visits from many individuals, who expressed themselves anxious to see us. General Hall, who acted as the Governor's deputy during his absence, came, accompanied by his wife, a lady of very pleasing person and manners, and who, moreover, spoke French exceedingly well. Her husband had been eleven years a prisoner in France. Mrs. Hall had proceeded thither to join him, in

spite of the great restrictions which then existed between the two countries ; and, if I recollect rightly, she ventured across the channel in an open boat. Both General and Mrs. Hall were intimate with many of my friends in Paris. General Hall, who is a frank and honourable man, observed that he should feel happy in repaying me, without regard to difference of opinion, for all the good treatment he had generously experienced in France; and he kept his word.

I was also visited by Colonel Ware, whose wife has a sister married to one of the members of the present English Ministry. Colonel Ware resided at a short distance from Newlands, and he came, he said, to offer me his services as a good neighbour ; and, indeed, I found him an extremely agreeable one, from his kind and unremitting attentions to me. Finally, a lady, distinguished in rank and in every other respect, who at that time accidentally happened to be in the colony, had the charity several times to visit the captive. This was an unlooked-for happiness ; for the act of kindness thus conferred on me was enhanced by the charms of agreeable conversation, combined with graceful manners and the most captivating modesty. She was a lovely European flower, amidst the heath of the Cape.

We were also visited in our solitude by numerous officers of all ranks, who expressed sincere sympathy and interest for our misfortunes. Had their



kindness at that time come to the knowledge of the English Ministry, it might have operated to their prejudice. Even now, though with a great sacrifice to my feelings, I must, at all hazards, refrain from mentioning their names. But they may be assured that none of their actions or words were lost upon me; for gratitude is a sentiment innate in my heart.

Curiosity also had its share in attracting visitors to me. Every stranger who arrived at the colony, and in particular the numerous passengers who were proceeding to India, failed not to visit Newlands. I was a ray escaped from Longwood, and all were eager to see one who had recently been near Napoleon, whom I found to be every where the universal object of interest, and the constant subject of conversation.

I had now an opportunity of answering many questions that were addressed to me respecting the Emperor, the theme on which I always dwelt most fondly. How many prejudices did I not destroy? How much astonishment did I not create? It would now be difficult to conceive how many atrocious and absurd reports respecting the Emperor, had gained credit owing to the long suspension of intercourse between the two nations, and their mutual feelings of irritation. Will it be believed that a military officer of high rank, a man of considerable intelligence, begged that I would tell him candidly whether Napoleon was really

capable of writing. He took it for granted that he was a mere soldier, and nothing else. He seemed, indeed, almost to doubt whether he could read. I laughed, and asked whether he had ever seen his military proclamations? He replied that he had, but that he supposed these had been made for him. This officer was much astonished, and acknowledged he had nothing further to say on the subject, when I informed him that, at the age of twenty-seven, Napoleon had been a Member of the French Institute, undoubtedly the first learned establishment in Europe.

As soon as we had fixed our residence at Newlands, my first care was to send to Longwood a few articles of which the Emperor stood in need. I knew, from experience, how many privations he had to endure in that abode of misery, where it was found impossible to procure many things which long habit had rendered necessary or agreeable. With my heart full of these recollections, I resolved to transmit to him whatever I could procure; though I was well aware that the Emperor attached but little importance to luxuries of any kind. I however ordered some of the best Constantia and Bordeaux wines, coffee, liqueurs, oil, eau de cologne, &c. I mentioned that, if they were not of the most superior quality, I would decline purchasing them. The Cape is yet but ill supplied with the luxuries of Europe. Excepting Constantia wine, which is the production of the

place, only small quantities of the articles I had ordered could be procured. I had taken the precaution to ask General Hall whether I should be permitted to send the things, and he very politely replied in the affirmative. With the view of facilitating the reception of this little package at St. Helena, I had determined not to have it brought to me at the Cape. I requested the officers of the Governor's staff to have the goodness to make the purchases for me, and only reserved to myself the charge of paying for them. I mentioned these precautions in a letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, to whom I addressed the whole. It is stated by Mr. O'Meara that, on the arrival of these things at St. Helena, Sir Hudson Lowe expressed himself much offended at what I had done, which, he said, was an insult to the English Government; and in answer to me, he afterwards stated that, though I had acted with much delicacy, yet it was out of his power to permit the articles to be transmitted to Longwood, because he was charged, in the name of the English Government, to provide every thing that was wanting at that establishment.—He forgot that he had often assured us the sum allowed him was insufficient for the purpose; and that we, on our part, had frequently complained to him of wanting necessaries. However, I afterwards understood that the articles had been sent to Longwood, and I had the inexpressible satisfaction of learning that the Constantia wine, in

particular, had pleased the Emperor. It was reserved for his own use, and he called it by my name. In his last moments, when rejecting every thing that was offered to him, and not knowing what to have recourse to, he said—"Give me a glass of Las Cases' wine." How was I gratified to hear of this!

At the same time, I sent back to Sir Hudson Lowe the eventual deed which, at the sad moment of my departure, had been given to me for the 4000 louis which I left for the Emperor's use. It stated that the sum was to be immediately repaid to me. On my hesitating to accept it, the Governor Sir Hudson Lowe, ironically said—"Take it, take it. You will go where the General has funds, and that will enable you to get payment." Afterwards, when I came to recollect this circumstance, not doubting the report that Sir Hudson Lowe would make of it to his Ministers, I thought I would send back the deed, with the request that he would transmit to the English Government a correction of the *erroneous commentaries*, with which I was convinced he had not failed to accompany his account of the circumstance. "I reserve to myself," said I, in my letter to him, "merely the signature, which to me is more valuable than the sum itself. The deed is useless, I added. The Emperor's relations would, I am sure, dispute the honour of paying me back the sum; or, in case of emergency, the first Frenchman I may

happen to meet, will be ready to open a credit account with me."

We had now been two months at Newlands, and from what I have already stated, many may be led to believe that we were perfectly happy. But can there be happiness in a state of captivity, far from one's native country? . . . We merely wiled away the hours as agreeably as we could. We regulated our time, and distributed our occupations. My son pursued his studies. The piano of the Misses Somerset was one of his favourite amusements. I read a great deal; for I had books beside me, and my friends regularly furnished me with the journals and new publications. In the evenings, my son walked with me in the beautiful groves surrounding the house; or, as he had bought a horse, he sometimes took an excursion in the neighbourhood, and then returned to ride back and forward in the beautiful alleys of Newlands, where I sat down, and took pleasure in observing him. . . I thought I could see his health revive, and his strength develop itself.

I must confess, that in these delicious summer-evenings, the pure sky, the fresh air, and the beauty of the whole surrounding scene, occasionally afforded me a few hours' enjoyment: this was my adieu to life. . . . The rigidity of feeling occasioned by the treatment we had experienced at St. Helena, relaxed amidst the charms and perfect tranquillity of this delightful place, and I was.

oftener than once tempted to say, why is not the rest of my family here! . . . Alas! if the Emperor were but as well situated! . . . But these moments of oblivion were brief and of rare occurrence; for, I repeat, there can be no complete and perfect happiness far from one's country and the objects we love. With whatever charms we may be surrounded, we are ever amidst the desert. This state of feeling, and my impatience to arrive at a termination of my distress, insensibly had an effect on my health. My constant sleepless nights afforded no respite to my misery. In vain I devoted myself to occupation and exercise during the day, and delayed until late the moment of retiring to rest. No sooner did I lie down than, in spite of myself, my thoughts instantly turned on the interval that had gone by. I counted one day less in my exile, and I calculated over and over again the time that must yet elapse ere the order for our deliverance could arrive from London, the accidents that might retard it, &c. These thoughts having once taken possession of my mind, I found it absolutely impossible to close my eyes; and thus I nightly endured the most cruel torments that can be conceived.

Meanwhile, the period of the Governor's return was at hand; and I began to be perplexed at the idea of thus finding myself in the same house with him; I presumed it would not be very agreeable to either party, to have to confound together, un-

der the same roof, hospitality and seclusion. But my embarrassment was soon at an end. Whether it was fact or pretence I know not ; but the Colonial Secretary came to inform me that in consequence of the expected arrival of Lord Amherst, who was returning to Europe from his embassy to China, the Governor found it necessary to assign another residence to me.

This Colonial Secretary, whom I have not yet mentioned, though he was the second civil officer in the colony, was a man perfectly eccentric, both in person and character. He had been several times a Member of Parliament. He knew every thing, discussed every thing, and usually confused every thing he meddled with : he was said to be like an encyclopædia, with the sheets bound up in their wrong places. He first took it into his head to fix our abode in a residence which he had caused the Government to hire. Fortunately, he relinquished this design, because various difficulties opposed its execution. We should, I believe, have been obliged to proceed thither by sea ; and even had we been safely established in this abode, there would have been some uncertainty respecting the facility of communication with us when necessary. At length, it was determined that we should be lodged with a worthy family who resided about eight or ten leagues from the Cape, at a place called Tygerberg (Tiger Hill), which name it received from the Dutch, on account of the nume-

rous tigers that inhabited the place, at the time when it was first occupied.

This occupation is not of very remote date ; for these lands have not been exclusively in the possession of the civilized inhabitants until very recently. Several persons informed me that they had themselves seen tigers in the beautiful grounds of Newlands. It would appear that the Dutch, confining themselves to maritime affairs, devoted but little, or at least tardy, attention to the progress of colonization. Now, however, the industry and activity of the English are giving a different turn to affairs. All parts of the Cape, and Cape Town in particular, which the sailors call the *half-way house* of the two worlds, will infallibly rise to the highest importance. The soil is rich, and the climate admirable. The productions of the temperate zone, and those of the tropics, may be cultivated almost in all parts and at once. English settlers emigrate to the Cape in great numbers ; and the population is rapidly increasing. Europe invaded Africa by the south, and the European race will, in course of time, spread over the whole continent, as it is now spread over America. From Botany Bay, Europeans will, in course of time, extend to New Holland, and from thence subjugate China. The European race will rule the globe ; happy should it expiate, by the blessings of civilization, the crimes of conquest, or its impurity of origin ! }



*Residence at Tygerberg.—The Name of Napoleon familiar in the Desert.—Manuscript of St. Helena, &c.*

From April 6th to August 19th.—We left Newlands about the middle of the day, and at night reached Tygerberg. Our new host was a Mr. Baker, a native of Coblenz, or its neighbourhood, and we looked upon him as one of our countrymen, from his origin, his opinions, and the sympathy he shewed us. The family altogether formed the most agreeable society imaginable. It would have been impossible for us to have been treated with greater respect and attention. All our wishes were anticipated and gratified. We now commenced the third period of our captivity at the Cape. The first, was our insupportable imprisonment in the Castle, which fortunately lasted only ten days: the second, was our abode in the charming retreat of Newlands: the third, was our residence at the desert of Tygerberg, which was to continue for the space of four months; and even this might not be the termination of our captivity!

At Tygerberg, we found ourselves situated on the confines of the wandering hordes. The country, here and there, presented detached habitations, at considerable distances from each other. These were occupied by cultivators of various nations, who were clearing the new grounds, in order to turn them to profitable account; and with per-

severance, regularity, and a little capital, their efforts will, no doubt, be successful. Though now removed to the very extremity of the civilized world, we found ourselves treated with even more than kindness. We observed that the people here were neither ignorant nor indifferent with respect to the events of Europe, which, on the contrary, excited an unusual degree of interest. The majority of the population was Dutch, and was, therefore, connected with our national system. Thus, to my surprise, I found the name of Napoleon familiar in this desert. The most victorious game cock in the neighbourhood was called Napoleon! The swiftest racehorse was Napoleon! The most invincible bull in the country was Napoleon! I could not refrain from laughing at this. But every one has his own way of rendering honour and respect; and Napoleon was the noblest of all names in the estimation of the inhabitants of Tygerberg.

Notwithstanding our removal from the town, we still continued to receive many visits, and it was very gratifying to us to calculate the degree of interest that was felt for us, by the degree of reserve and embarrassment we excited. While we were at Tygerberg, we heard of the wreck of a French ship, the *Alouette*, which ran aground in the neighbourhood of the Cape. I was happy enough to have it in my power to communicate to the crew my sincere sympathy for their misfortune. I never observed so forcibly as here, at the extremity

of the earth, how much fellow-countrymen feel themselves to be brothers, in spite of political dissensions. I had already enjoyed the satisfaction of receiving proofs that the same sentiments were entertained with respect to me. Frenchmen secretly visited me, even in this desert. Many had previously gained access to Newlands, at the hazard of their personal safety and interest, for the purpose of offering me their services. Even when I was under close confinement in Cape Town, several of my countrymen found means to convey to me expressions of their regard. It is in such situations that testimonies of kindness are most felt and appreciated.

The interest we excited was not, however, confined to Frenchmen alone. An American Captain came to me, and offered to snatch me from captivity. He informed me that he had adopted every precaution, and made every necessary arrangement; and, he observed, that all depended on my own will, since Mr. Baker was not my jailor, but merely my host. Yet what would have been the use of embracing this proposal? I had but one point, one object, in view, and that was, to repair to London and appeal to the English Ministers.

We endeavoured to amuse ourselves with our usual occupations. I had procured a person to read to me, and I kept him well employed. In spite of the distance, our friends still continued to supply us with the journals and new publications.

At this time, I read the Letters written during the last reign of the Emperor, by Mr. Hobhouse, who, I believe, was the first who ventured to speak favourably of Napoleon. I also procured Doctor Warden's work, which, though containing many errors, was, I am confident, written with the very best intentions; and finally, I obtained a sight of the famous Manuscript of St. Helena, which excited so much interest and curiosity throughout Europe. Opinion was powerfully divided on the subject of this publication; a thousand conjectures were afloat respecting its authenticity and real origin. It would certainly be difficult for me to describe the astonishment and doubt which it excited in my mind. What were my feelings and thoughts when I found pages of truth, which seemed to have escaped from my own secret collection, mingled with whole pages of error and frivolity! I several times stopped, doubting whether I was not dreaming. I recognised not only the substance of certain passages, but even phrases and expressions, in the literal form in which I had myself transcribed them from the mouth of the narrator. They were contained in the very papers which Sir Hudson Lowe had detained at St. Helena. I could positively have affirmed, that all the grand ideas and noble conceptions, formed by Napoleon,—all the political speculations,—and, in short, all the most attractive and interesting contents of the celebrated Manuscript, were in my Journal

collected from the conversation of Napoleon. If only this portion of the publication had been read to me, I should not, for a moment, have doubted that the work had been obtained directly from Longwood. Even the dates would have warranted this conclusion ; for six or seven months had now elapsed since my expulsion from St. Helena. But whence had been procured the alloy with which the better portion of the work was mingled up ? This was a riddle which I could not attempt to guess. Can it be, thought I, that the facts contained in this publication, have been surreptitiously derived from my papers, certain parts of which may have been selected and put together by strange hands ? But, besides that, I could not bring myself to cherish such a disagreeable suspicion without better proof ; what probability was there that the hostile authority of St. Helena would favour the publication of that, which was, upon the whole, favourable to the illustrious victim of the ostracism of kings ?

What was the real sentiment which dictated the Manuscript of St. Helena ? This is, in many instances, very equivocal. By what hands was it produced ? This question gives rise to many contradictory conjectures. Finally, it may be asked, what was the real object of the publication ? It presents various styles, various sentiments, and bears evidence of various degrees of information. This publication must have been the patchwork

production of various hands ; for how could the individual, who appears to have been so familiar with the secret designs of the supposed author and his cabinet, have been ignorant of his opinion on various public acts, when that opinion was accessible to every body ? as, for example, on the subject of Napoleon's first marriage ; the situation of the French in Egypt ; the trial of the Duke d'Enghien ; &c.

Is it probable that the man who could have procured by his own means, facts of so confidential a nature, should have been reduced to the necessity of mingling them up with vulgar errors ? And even supposing any one to have had sufficient shrewdness to have guessed these great truths, would not his judgment have suggested to him the propriety of being correct with respect to the rest. I shall say nothing of the far-fetched and singular phraseology which disfigures the work, and which can only be regarded as a proof of bad taste and an unsuccessful attempt at imitation. Neither shall I comment on the numerous and extraordinary anachronisms which this Manuscript contains. These and other circumstances render the publication totally inexplicable.

Meanwhile, time was running on, and I saw no probable termination of my exile. The interval necessary for obtaining a return of communication from England had now expired, and still I heard nothing of my removal. I was seized with profound

melancholy, and almost reduced to despair. I suffered severely from continual and violent pains in my stomach. My restlessness at night still continued, my health daily declined, and disease made rapid inroads on my constitution. I was at this time attacked with pains in the head which have never since quitted me. At Balcombe's cottage and at Newlands, I had, at intervals, after prolonged occupation, experienced a shooting pain in my head, like an electrical stroke. This, whenever it occurred, I attributed to fatigue; and if I suspended my occupation, the pain immediately left me. But I now began to be troubled with a continued pain, accompanied, when I happened to be standing, with a slight giddiness, and sometimes attended with a painful sensation about my heart. Hence I date the commencement and origin of a disease, which, for the last five years, has attacked all parts of my head, under various symptoms and with various degrees of pain, without leaving me even a single day's respite. For some time I suffered violent and repeated shooting pains above one or the other of my eyes, accompanied by an intolerable ringing in my ears. I was seized with deafness; but after some time this entirely left me. At another period, all conversation, particularly if I maintained it with any degree of warmth, immediately brought on a swelling about my ears which impeded the motion of my jaw. I have sometimes felt as though

little pimples were suddenly rising under my hair; and this was really the fact, though their existence was but momentary. At other times, all the muscles of my neck became stiff and painful. After my arrival in Germany, this state of health brought on such extreme debility that I found it impossible to apply myself to any thing whatever. I could do nothing, not even dictate a few lines; though fortunately I could listen to any thing that was read to me, for several hours in succession, without inconvenience.

I have in vain had recourse to the faculty. No remedy has afforded me any immediate relief, and hitherto I have found that the most effectual method is to abstain entirely from medicine.

After my return to France I experienced a considerable improvement in my health. By dint of repose and retirement, I found myself daily gathering strength. But still, whenever I tried to converse for any length of time, or to bend my thoughts to any particular subject, I immediately experienced a recurrence of my disorder. I felt as though a weight were pressing on the crown of my head.

During my convalescence, hearing that complaints had been made respecting the negligent style of the preceding volumes of my Journal, I determined to bestow greater attention on editing the succeeding ones. But this application was more than my strength enabled me to bear, and I



relapsed into a state of illness, worse, perhaps, than what I had formerly suffered. Thus I have been several times forced to suspend these last parts of my Journal ; and I have even been apprehensive that I should be totally unable to conclude the work. Now, however, I suffer more from debility than pain. The slightest degree of fatigue produces a relapse of my disorder, attended by a sudden weakness over my whole frame. I feel a great difficulty in walking ; and, whenever I stand up, I experience a kind of hesitation and trembling. The ground seems to fail me, I am seized with a staggering, and am obliged to support myself, lest I should fall. Vertigo in the head is a common disorder ; mine, however, may be called a vertigo in the feet. But to resume my subject.

During the increasing indisposition under which I was labouring at Tygerberg, I wrote to request that the Governor would permit me to return to the town, for the sake of obtaining medical aid. But this request was vain : Lord Charles Somersct now turned a deaf ear to my representations.

In the impatience and irritation excited by the prolongation of my captivity, I several times, during my residence at Tygerberg, resumed, and perhaps in energetic terms, my appeals to the Governor, requesting that he would permit me to return to Europe. I have reason to believe that I succeeded in moving him. Whether from feelings of justice on his part, or from what other

cause I know not, but I am sure he was not without hesitation and anxiety respecting me. He probably asked himself whether it was proper in him to become a jailor after the manner of Sir Hudson Lowe? And whether he had a right, after all, to deprive me of my liberty? But whenever he thus wavered, his ill-natured advisers were at hand to confirm him in his resolution of detaining me. "Is he not well lodged and well fed?" said they. "What then has he to complain of? and how has he acknowledged the good treatment he has experienced? By confining himself and refusing to go abroad, in order to give a greater colouring of probability to what he is pleased to call his tyrannical imprisonment.—What has been the violent tone of his letters, which have always been out of place?" Every thing was turned to my prejudice, and one circumstance in particular was taken advantage of for this purpose. On the arrival of Lord Amherst and Admiral Plampin, Lord Charles Somerset, with the intention probably of affording the strangers an opportunity of seeing and questioning me, sent me, in the midst of my desert at Tygerberg, a formal invitation to a ball, which, as well as I can recollect, was given in honour of the Prince R<sup>egent</sup>'s birth-day. The messenger was directed to wait for my answer. I wrote it on the card of invitation, and in very decided terms. I was vexed that Lord Charles Somerset seemed to have so

little idea of the melancholy situation in which I was placed, as to imagine me capable of going to a ball. The persons about the Governor probably insinuated that, if his Excellency had committed a fault in detaining me, it was now too late to remedy it ; that the thing was done, and his Lordship would be held responsible for it ; that to alter his determination would be an acknowledgment that he did not know how to act ; would be condemning himself, &c. I presume, therefore, it was resolved to incur the chance of letting the affair come to a close any way it would.\*

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\* Chance has thrown in my way a document, which affords a decided proof of the manner in which Lord Charles Somerset acted. I have now in my possession a duplicate of a letter from Mr. Goulburn, the Under Secretary of State, addressed to Madame Las Cases, at Paris, and dated February 21st, 1817. The letter states that Mr. Goulburn is commissioned, by Lord Bathurst, to inform Madame Las Cases of the departure of her husband from St. Helena for the Cape ; and that, in case he should determine on returning to Europe, he might be expected about the month of May. Yet I did not leave the Cape until three months later, namely, about the end of August ! Thus it would appear that Lord Bathurst had no intention of detaining me there ; and that Lord Charles Somerset, instead of executing the orders of the English Minister, merely obeyed the suggestions of Sir Hudson Lowe. I certainly have no reason to suppose that Lord Bathurst would, in the slightest degree, regret this irregularity, however fatal it might be to me. But, if I know any thing of the character of Lord Charles, I am sure he must have been sorry for it. Being fully persuaded of this, I sincerely forgive him for the treatment I experienced.

All these adverse circumstances combined to estrange Lord Charles Somerset entirely from me, and so far offended him, that in spite of his natural disposition, he treated me with a degree of inhumanity. I addressed a letter to him, describing the state of my health, and urging the indispensable necessity of my removal to the town. But to this he coolly replied, in a note sent by his Aide-de-camp, that though he could not alter his arrangements, he had given orders for my obtaining medical attendance. But I was situated at a distance of eight or ten leagues from Cape Town; the Doctor could only visit me once a week; and as he prescribed remedies, which could only be procured in the town, their application was impracticable. I lost all patience on reading this answer, which seemed to be an act of cruel irony rather than a measure of relief; and I indignantly addressed a letter directly to the Colonial Secretary. I stated that, "as it was by his direction, I had been removed to Mr. Baker's, I took the liberty of informing him, that as it was absolutely necessary I should be near my medical attendant, I presumed he could have no objection to my removal to the town, to the house of Dr. Leisching, Mr. Baker's father-in-law." He replied that he had consulted with the Governor, and that his Excellency had declared that his instructions did not admit of my coming back to Cape Town.

But I determined not to be satisfied with this,

and I again wrote to the Colonial Secretary. I informed him, that, "in spite of his letter, nothing but absolute force should prevent me from quitting Tygerberg. I was determined to repair to the town, and that the Governor might, if he pleased, confine me there, and even keep me a closer prisoner than I was at Tygerberg, as, at least, I should enjoy the advantage of being within reach of medical advice and remedies; that though perhaps I had no reason to attach great value to existence, yet I felt it to be a kind of duty to defend my life." Fortunately, the permission for my departure at length arrived from England, just at the very moment when I was about to execute my determination; otherwise I know not how the matter would have ended. The Governor communicated this welcome intelligence to me, accompanied by the offer of a lodging prepared for me in the town. But I declined accepting it, and proceeded, as I had originally intended, to the house of Dr. Leisching, where I experienced all the attention and hospitality of Tygerberg, in a truly patriarchal family, whose society produced a beneficial effect on my health and spirits.

Now commenced a new series of vexations. I was doomed to drain the cup of disappointment to the very dregs. The Governor, when he informed me of my release, mentioned that two opportunities presented themselves for my departure, and he wished me to make choice of one. I imme-

diately replied that the speediest would be the most desirable. I now confidently expected the receipt of my passports, and the final commands of the Governor. I was confined to my bed. Two days elapsed; and in the mean time one of the ships sailed. What was my vexation and disappointment, particularly when I was afterwards informed that the Governor had nothing more to communicate to me; and that I was at liberty to make whatever arrangements I pleased respecting my departure. I vehemently complained that the first opportunity should have been allowed to escape; but for this there was no remedy. A large transport ship was lying in the harbour, which was destined to convey a regiment of artillery to England. I begged the Governor would permit me to take my passage in this vessel, as there were medical officers on board. His answer was, that there was no accommodation for me. In vain I represented that if there had been two additional artillery officers, they would certainly not be left behind; that if there were two more sailors to be embarked, they would surely find room for them; and we wanted no better accommodation. All these arguments were unavailing. I was informed the ship was to touch at St. Helena, and that this circumstance, in itself, would preclude the possibility of my taking passage on board of her. I was compelled to yield, and to confine myself to the choice which the Go-

vernor had so generously left me, which was to proceed to Europe by the only ship that was then in the harbour. This was an extremely small brig, an absolute cock-boat, destined to perform a voyage of 3,000 leagues. However, I felt no hesitation. I would have jumped into the sea rather than have delayed another moment. The bargain was soon struck, and I was now all impatience for the moment of departure.

The Captain of the brig informed me that he had received orders from the Governor to prohibit me from having any communication on shore, if he should be obliged to touch at any place in course of the voyage; and on reaching England, he was not to suffer me to land until he should previously receive orders from Government. Thus I was absolutely a prisoner in the hands of this man, though I was bound to pay him the sum which he had been pleased to demand for my passage. This circumstance appeared to me so extraordinary, that I wished to obtain a confirmation of it, lest it might be the subject of doubt when I should have to relate it. Therefore, when, for the last time, I applied to the Governor for my passports, I called his attention to this extraordinary fact. I begged that he would certify, in his answer to me, that I had myself agreed to pay for my passage on board the brig, which, by his instructions, was now converted into my prison.

But, as it may be supposed, I received my passports and nothing more.

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## PASSAGE TO EUROPE.

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A Space of about a Hundred Days.

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FROM WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20, TO FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15.

*We sail from the Cape.—Our Passage.—We anchor in the Downs.*

TOWARDS evening we proceeded to the beach, accompanied by our two excellent hosts of Tygerberg and the Cape, whose hospitable cares, extreme attention, and all the proofs of true affection which they gave us, have inspired us with deep feelings of gratitude. The weather was calm, but as we entered the boat, a favourable breeze sprung up as by enchantment. We all exclaimed that this was an auspicious omen; but it was far from proving so: for it will be seen that our passage turned out to be one of the longest, and towards the end, most frightful and terrible.

We got on board, the anchor was weighed, and we at last set sail for that Europe we had so long wished for.

From the moment we got under weigh, I and



my son were separated from Cape Town and the coast of Africa for ever. Not that they were out of sight even on the next day; but, because we both remained shut up below, suffering most terribly from sea-sickness, the effects of which lasted a considerable time, and of which we thought we should die. Our accommodation was small, dirty, and inconvenient; our brig was of about 200 tons, at most; and the crew consisted of twelve hands, two of whom were boys; and, indeed, with the exception of the Captain and the Mate, the only two who could be reckoned as good sailors, and of the Cook, an infirm old man, all the rest were mere lads. This want of hands was the more striking to me, and tended the more to increase my natural disposition to sea-sickness; as, with the exception of the Griffin, I had never been on board any but seventy-four gun ships, manned by seven or eight hundred men.

Yet, whether this violent commotion acted as a natural remedy, or otherwise, certain it is, that notwithstanding the badness of the accommodation, the execrable food that was given to us, and the total privation of all comforts, my health, and that of my son, were soon visibly improved;—after that believe in physic! The fact is, as the Emperor would often say, man is a machine constructed to live, and the functions of nature are more powerful than the science of men.

After thirteen days' sailing, we reached the tro-

pie of Capricorn, and fell in with the trade winds. On the Sunday after that, the 7th of September, we passed in sight of St. Helena, but at a distance of upwards of fifteen leagues; it was hardly possible to perceive it. It would be necessary to have been on that Island, situated as I had been, led there by similar motives, and to have felt the same affections, and all the other sentiments which my residence there had inspired me with, in order to conceive all the sensations which I experienced on finding myself near that spot,—all the thoughts which occurred to my mind,—the feelings of regret which assailed me. I had had it in my power to remain there; and I had wilfully chosen to banish myself from it! . . . . Indeed the experience I had had of the Cape, began to make me fear that I had founded my determination on chimeras.

We were now sailing smoothly towards the equator, on this tropical sea, on which we had to go upwards of 3,000 leagues. Our little vessel composed our universe. What a vast field of meditation! to find one's self alone, during about a hundred days, on the vast ocean, without any other shelter than the immense expanse of the heavens, on a floating atom, and separated only by a frail plank from the voracity of the sea monsters, and an unfathomable abyss! . . . . What an element our daring courage has conquered! What advantages have we not derived from it! Ah,

how great is man, how sublime are his efforts, how admirable the success with which they are crowned!

We were surrounded by shoals of fishes; they seemed to be here especially in their own empire. It appeared, at times, as if the vessel would not be able to open a passage through them. In this sea, generally smooth and tranquil, ever under the influence of the same wind, when the sails are once trimmed, there is scarcely any thing more to do than to let the ship go on; therefore each sailor generally devoted his leisure to endeavour to catch some of the numerous fishes around us; and when they succeeded, which was not very often, it was to us a subject of great joy and satisfaction. We were so badly fed, and in a style so contrary to our habits, that an albicorn, a bonito, a dolphin, fishes which are not very good in themselves, appeared to us delicious, and that such a prize was a dainty meal for every one of us; we should, I think, have even eaten some shark. Be that as it may, the Lord forgive our worthy Captain for the meat, the salt fish, and other horrible things with which he poisoned us, regularly twice a day, notwithstanding the enormous sum which he had taken for our passage, and for which he had promised us good fare, and excellent accommodation. But a mere tub, a complete dunghill, four or five large loaves, and a few dozens of old fowls, formed the sum total of his magnificence! Such is the

good faith of a privateer. God preserve from it all those that may succeed me !”

In a state of loneliness, such as that in which we found ourselves, the mind is the more easily prepared for every impression ; and it was a source of real happiness and joy to us, as we now advanced in our voyage, to perceive a star belonging to our native hemisphere ; to observe once more all our constellations of Europe. Every evening, under the beautiful clear sky, I gave instructions to my son in astronomy ; in the day he made nautical observations with the Captain, who compensated for the privation of those bodily delicacies, respecting which he had so much deceived us, by feeding our mind with long and frequent lectures, a task of which he acquitted himself admirably.

At the expiration of a month, 20th September, we at last got into our northern hemisphere again, by crossing the line almost at the same time as the sun, which was going down towards the south on our larboard tack. We were very fortunate in our navigation in the immediate vicinity north of the equator, where calms or storms are invariably met with. In those regions, the excessive heat of the equator, and that produced by the sands of Africa, combine to torment and depress nature, who expresses her lassitude by continued calms, or is roused by torrents of rain and terrible claps of thunder.

In twenty-five days after, we passed the second tropic, and reached the boundaries of the variable winds of our regions.

We had left the Cape in winter, and after having crossed the torrid zone, we again found winter at the gates of Europe : thus tempests were stationed at the two extremities of our navigation. We had fortunately escaped the tempests of the departure ; but we had still to expect those of the arrival : these we found at their post, and furious they turned out to be.

At the end of about twenty days of light and variable winds, we arrived off the Azores. Our voyage had been already extremely long. It is not without example that the passage from the Cape to England has been performed in thirty days ;—the average perhaps is fifty days. We had now been eighty days at sea, and our troubles were only about to begin. When in sight of the Azores, our tribulation, and what we called our *passion week*, commenced.

On the 1st of November we experienced our first gale ; a moderate one, it is true, to begin with, as it were, and set us agoing.

On the 2d November, we had a calm to give us breath. On the 3d, came a second gale, still tolerable ; but during the night, which was one of the darkest imaginable, a third gale sprang up, and this time, it amounted to an absolute hurricane. The wind suddenly chopped round, from aft to fore,

with a dreadful noise ; and blowing furiously, it took, sideways, the few sails we had set, and in one instant, with the rapidity of thought, the ship was thrown on her beam ends, and the sea reached nearly to the foot of the masts. A great number of the casks belonging to the cargo were upset, and by their weight increased the heeling of the ship, already so dangerous. Fortunately, the wind carried away the sails, which were let loose, or we should have capsized. We all thought ourselves lost, and we must have been drowned, but fate had ordered it otherwise; our hour was not yet come ; we were fortunate enough to keep afloat. It was owing to an accident of the same kind, and in nearly the same latitude, that the *Ville de Paris* and four other seventy-four gun ships, were lost in the year 1782. Our Captain and his Mate, who had been twenty years at sea, assured us that they had never experienced a gale of such violence before. One more violent, they said, could not be ; the sea was white and luminous as far as the eye could reach. This gale, which raged for three hours with violence, lasted the whole of the 4th and part of the following day. On the 5th, towards evening, the weather was tolerable ; but this was only a kind of respite. On the 6th, we had a fourth gale, which blew violently during the whole day. In the night, it kept on increasing ; we were obliged to run before the wind ; the sea ran mountains high, and constantly washed over

our deck, so that they were obliged to close up the entrance through which we went down into the cabin, and thus we remained shut up below, having no other light than that afforded by a dismal lamp : it was like the cavern of Neptune, and threatened to become soon that of Pluto. We were, literally speaking, under water, the waves closing above our heads.

Such a state of things lasted the whole of Friday, the 7th. Suffering from sea sickness, I had not stirred from my hammock for a long while; but at about four o'clock, I took advantage of a more calm moment, to drag myself to the issue of our wretched cabin, to examine the aspect of our situation. The spectacle was truly grand, sublime, awful, terrible. The vast ocean, surmounted by a sky red with fury, covered with innumerable roaring mountains, and furrowed with deep valleys and fathomless abysses, formed a sight which filled me with an awful feeling of terror. Our little boat glided with admirable rapidity between two moving mountains, the extremities of which often met on our deck, threatening every moment to unite there together for our final destruction; whilst behind us huge rolling billows, similar to the fantastic monsters of fabulous history, pursued us with unrelenting ardour, raising their hideous heads above our stern, as if to contemplate and rush upon their prey, which continually escaped from them, not, however, without their carrying away, here and there, some pieces of wood from

our upper works. This situation was one of imminent danger; few words were exchanged between us; we looked at each other in silence; and let events take their course. It is certain, that a false movement at the helm, or the slightest act of inattention or neglect, would have been sufficient to cause us to be instantly swallowed up. Had we been caught by one of these terrible waves astern of us, its weight would have borne down every thing before it, and that indeed was our greatest peril. We were more than once threatened with seeing our cabin stove in; the waves struck over our heads, with a noise like the detonation of a cannon. We observed them, with terror, gaining ground upon us; and we devoted a great part of the dreadful night that followed, to secure and fortify ourselves against them.

My son, who could neither go to bed nor sleep, frequently went upon deck to see how things were going on, and then came back to me, who was lying sick in my hammock. Not knowing what to do during that long and cruel night, to divert our minds from the contemplation of our situation, and beguile time away if possible, I endeavoured a moment to dictate something to my son; it was a passage of ancient history. But presently, a wave having stove in some part of the works above, came and inundated my hammock, and the paper on which my son was writing. We thought ourselves at our last moment; my son took hold of my hand, and exclaimed, in ra-



ther a jocular tone, "At least we shall go down  
"in good company, with our Greeks and Romans."  
It is certain, to mention it incidentally, that my  
son behaved, during our truly alarming situation,  
in a way to afford me more than satisfaction. He  
considered it with calmness, followed its progress  
with a degree of curiosity, and conversed with en-  
tire freedom on the subject. And mark the effect  
of merely a few months upon our machine ! mark  
the influence of our bodily strength over the na-  
ture of our sensations ! It was in this dreadful  
situation, and with all the calmness, of which he  
was giving proofs, that he related to me, that dur-  
ing our voyage to St. Helena, on board the North-  
umberland, not more than one or two years ago,  
he had passed several sleepless nights in his bed,  
and very unhappy, from the fear of being drowned  
during his sleep. How weak and fearful then,  
when there was not even an appearance of danger ;  
and how firm and undaunted now, when death  
might be looked upon as certain ! . . . His de-  
portment at this moment even provoked our Cap-  
tain, who called it scandalous. This said Captain,  
whom we had thought a very expert seaman, but  
who, upon trial, proved to be any thing but that,  
had, in the moment of greatest danger, given up  
the management of every thing to his Mate, and  
remained lying on his bed totally discouraged,  
probably thinking of his sins, perhaps of the man-  
ner in which he had deceived us ; for the devotion

and scruples of sailors, at the hour of peril, are well known. Be that as it may, this Captain collected strength to remonstrate with my son on the impropriety, as he called it, of his having expressed himself with a tone of levity, and of his daring to hum a tune at the very moment. This, said he, in the situation in which we are placed, is calculated to offend God; adding, that his youth and inexperience alone could have concealed from him the danger in which we had been, every minute for the last eight days, of being lost: and here he spoke the truth.

However, all that has been read, did not yet form the complement of our danger, nor the extent of our fears: The tempest still lasted, and seemed even to go on increasing; at last, on Saturday the 8th, towards morning, the man who was at the helm, as being the most dexterous and the most intrepid of the crew, declared that he would no longer take charge of it; he began to feel giddy, he said, and he feared lest some error on his part should prove fatal to all. We were then obliged to have recourse to our last resource, that of *lying to*, that is, to place the ship athwart against the wind; a most ticklish manœuvre in the desperate situation in which we were placed, because we ran the risk of going down in the attempt to execute it. But Providence still favoured us; by the greatest good fortune possible, we succeeded, and a shout of joy and gratitude from the

whole of the crew above, imparted to us below the welcome news. We considered ourselves most fortunate, although the difference between the two situations was chiefly this, that whereas before we ran the risk of foundering, by being taken by the sea aft; we now had the chance of foundering, by the sea taking us on the beam. Yet it must be admitted that we were no sooner in this position, than the ship appeared, compared with what we had experienced before, as if she had got into harbour. For my part, I had seen with regret, the determination to change our course, because we thus retarded our progress towards the cessation of our miseries; but feeling myself now a little relieved, nothing in the world could have induced me to place myself again in the situation we had just escaped from. The reason of this is, that in a desperate condition, like that in which we had been placed during so many hours, men may make up their minds to it; but as soon as confidence has been restored, it is most painful to be obliged to resign one's self again.

This violent gale had now lasted three days, and our week was going on towards its completion. I placed great reliance upon the Sunday which was about to begin, not only on account of the moon, but also because Sunday had happened to be peculiarly marked by something favourable to us ever since our departure. Nor were our hopes deceived, for in the course of

the night from Saturday to Sunday, the weather became tolerably moderate, and when daylight appeared we were enabled once more to pursue our course. It is certain, that from a strange combination of circumstances, the Sundays had always been marked by some fortunate events, since our departure from the Cape. It was on a Sunday that we had passed the southern tropic, and fallen in with the trade winds; on a Sunday we had seen St. Helena; on a Sunday we had passed the Island of Ascension; on a Sunday we had crossed the line; on a Sunday we had passed the second tropic; on a Sunday we had arrived at the latitude of Gibraltar, the first point of Europe; lastly, it was on a Sunday that we had arrived at the latitude of Bayonne and Bordeaux, the beginning of our dear France; and it was on a Sunday again that we were at this moment ending that terrible week, off Brest. We might fairly reckon henceforward, we said, upon some fine weather; we thought we had sufficiently paid our tribute; we hoped that we had exhausted the fury of the wind: the plummet brought up European clay; and we only thought of an agreeable termination of our voyage. But vain calculation! our lucky Sunday being over, we had to encounter a fifth gale. We were now beginning to enter the channel without, however, having yet seen land, by which means our true position was unknown to us. Prudence required us to stand out to sea, but

fortunately it was not for a long time ; and having resumed our course, we at last came within sight of the Lizard Point ; but we seemed doomed not to have twenty-four hours of comfort. We had no sooner got there than a thick fog arose, and a sixth gale sprung up under the most inauspicious appearances. It blew from the south, and therefore threatened to drive us ashore : we were now in the channel and without shelter ; on one side we had the Lizard, and on the other the Scilly isles, which are extremely dangerous ; there was a very heavy sea : we did not know precisely where we were ; night was coming on, and a night of fourteen hours ! How many causes of uneasiness ! What a state of perplexity both for the mind and for a calculation of the chances ! We were all completely downcast and disheartened ; when a shower of rain, accompanied by thunder, although it was then in the middle of November and the weather was very cold, came to break the spell. The wind suddenly veered to the proper quarter, and this time it put an end to all our difficulties by bringing us into the Downs, where we anchored. Happy and ten times happy to have escaped dangers so formidable and so numerous ! At a later period, when reading the English papers in Germany, we found every day a relation of great disasters having occurred precisely at the same period and in the same latitudes. One vessel had been upset, another had foundered, another had

been seen floating on her side without masts, and without a living soul on board, another had been wrecked in coming into port, and crew and all lost. The season was quoted as one of the most disastrous; innumerable accidents had taken place; and it would be necessary to have been exposed to such accidents, as we had been, to appreciate the feelings of sympathy which were excited in our breasts by such recitals, and the fervent effusions of gratitude towards Providence to which they invariably gave rise.

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## VOYAGE FROM THE THAMES TO FRANKFORT.

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An Interval of Twenty Days.

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FROM NOVEMBER 16 TO DECEMBER 11.

*I am not allowed to remain in England.—Removal to Ostend.—Persecutions in Belgium, Prussia, &c.—Agreeable Compensations.—Arrival at Frankfort.*

On the preceding evening we had anchored in the Downs, merely for that night; the next morning, at daybreak, we set sail for the Thames, London being our place of destination. It now appeared as if no occurrence could henceforth keep

me from that city, and I was already calculating the hour of arrival. All my hopes might at last be realized; my confidence was returning; but how greatly was I mistaken!

Arrived at Gravesend, where a vessel is stationed for the special purpose of superintendence over foreigners, I no sooner gave my name than an agent of government informed me that I could not proceed any further, and that I must follow him immediately, with my luggage, on board of the *alien ship*. In vain I remonstrated; and represented to him that, with my passport, I was in strict conformity with the regulations: that very document it was that condemned me. I have been since informed that a similar measure had been ordered against me in every port of England, long before my arrival.

I was no sooner on board the alien ship, than seals were placed upon my papers, and I was apprized that I must wait for final orders from Government. I had written to Lord Bathurst the very instant of our anchoring in the Downs; I now wrote to him again. I was ignorant of his intentions towards me; but it seemed to me impossible that he should not eagerly summon me before him; and, above all things, it could not enter into my mind that he would neglect to avail himself of so favourable an opportunity for hearing a counter-statement of all that had taken place at

St. Helena. It will be seen, however, that I was mistaken in my suppositions.

With the exception of being kept in confinement, every mark of attention was shewn to me on board of the Alien ship. The Captain, who had had very little to do since the peace, and who never made his appearance but in the daytime, gave me his own bed to sleep in.

Harassed by these fresh vexations, suffering from my habitual complaints, and wearied of my new prison, I had gone to bed at an early hour, when I was awaked on a sudden, in the silence of night, by a shrill voice. "Count, Count," cried some one who was seeking for me in every corner, and who in his hurry had not even waited to procure a light, "*It is the Prince Regent's pleasure* "that you instantly quit Great Britain." In the confusion of my broken sleep I chanced to reply, "Assuredly this is a very sorry and silly pleasure "for His Royal Highness ; but you, Sir, who are "you?" He then told me that he was a state, or ministerial messenger. I requested he would go and wait until I should be ready, and I tried in vain to complete my night's rest. At daybreak my son and I were made to step into a boat, landed with mystery, thrust into a post-chaise, and conducted by the shortest road to Dover, where my guide informed me that he had orders to see me on board of the packet for Calais or Ostend,



whichever I preferred, as I was not allowed to fix my choice upon any other port.

It happened, from some cause or other, that we could not sail immediately from Dover, and I was told that there might be a delay of two or three days. We were shut up in an inn, where my guard, under the specious pretence of consulting my convenience, practised upon me the meanest of all contrivances. If complaints are made on the Continent of disgraceful proceedings on the part of police agents, it must be admitted that the man we had now to deal with might well rival those of any other country.

Having happened to say that it was a pity my papers had been sealed up, as otherwise I might have taken advantage of my stay, in order to write a few letters, he immediately protested against the hardship of my being deprived of what he called a most innocent and a most natural satisfaction ; and directly went himself to break the seals, and gave me up all my papers, recommending me to do all in my power to alleviate the unpleasantness of my present situation, of which he was the unwilling instrument. Will it be believed, this was nothing more than a snare laid for me, in order that he might afterwards have the pleasure of seizing upon whatever I might have written, under the delusion of a feeling of confidence he thus excited ! During the time we were together, this man had been remarkable for his officiousness

towards us, coupled, it is true, with a thousand impertinent expressions, which sufficiently evinced all his baseness. He told me, for instance, that he and his fellows in the same situation, considered it their duty to know no other law than the *pleasure* of the Prince; he spoke of *his master*, Lord Sidmouth, the Secretary for the Home Department; of *his master* who had preceded Lord Sidmouth, and so on; and as I observed in joke, that I had thought that he belonged to the Administration, and not to the Minister, he replied, with the utmost candour, that I was mistaken; that he belonged to the Minister, as it was the Minister who gave him his salary, and who might take it away at his pleasure. He added much other nonsense of the same kind, which savoured much more of the negro slave of Jamaica than of a white of Europe, and of a citizen of Great Britain; this, however, would have been a matter of perfect indifference to me, had not his ignoble principles been put in practice upon me, as the sequel will shew.

At the very moment of our departure, and when I was on the point of starting, this man, until then so complaisant and so officious, told me, in rather an insolent manner, that he had a trifling formality to fulfil towards me; and, seizing upon all my luggage, he searched most minutely amongst my linen and clothes, took possession of all my papers, without the least ceremony, and

even refused to give me any kind of inventory of them. I complained aloud; I called for the protection of the Magistrates; I demanded that my protest, at least, should be received; I was answered that, in the situation in which I was placed, and being a foreigner, the benefit of the laws which I invoked could not be extended to me; and in this manner I was obliged to quit England, leaving, however, behind me, the following letter for Lord Sidmouth:—

“ MY LORD,—It is with feelings of the deepest regret, that I do myself the honour of addressing your Lordship, aware that your reply, which might perhaps gratify the object of my wishes, will reach me too late.

“ For the last four days I have been in the power of your messenger; who, upon his arrival, has removed the seals which had been put upon my papers, saying that he again placed them at my disposal. He has since seen me write, has even encouraged me to do so, and has waited for the moment of my departure, to take possession, in your name, of every one of my papers. This is a snare, my Lord, which my heart forbids me to attribute to a higher quarter than the individual who has practised it. That messenger understood no language but English; he called another person to his aid, who pretended to understand a little French, and who has thought proper to peruse my papers, one after another, and even to

detain them all. There was enough for a whole week's reading, and I did not imagine that any individual could have such a right over me.

“ Every thing has been taken from me, letters, notes, my son's exercises, title deeds, family secrets, official documents from Sir Hudson Lowe and Lord Charles Somerset, my daily memoranda, even a letter to the French Minister of Police, and another to my wife, which I had prepared during my leisure moments here, in order that I might forward them on my landing at Ostend. They have been taken without allowing an inventory or register to be made of them. Such, they said, was your Lordship's order. In the first burst of indignation, I have protested against this violence, and demanded that a Magistrate might receive my complaint. I shall not record here the reply that has been given to me. Recovered from the first moment of surprise, and dreading nothing so much as to see my name mentioned in public discussions; considering also how impossible it was that your Lordship should have ordered so great a deviation from the rules of every acknowledged system of jurisprudence, according to which governments are required, in cases like the present, to take such measures as will enable them to guard against the possibility of being accused of having withdrawn or super-added any document; I contented myself with urging and most earnestly entreating the mes-

senger who had my fate in his hands, to allow of my departure being retarded until I had been able to write to your Lordship, and until he had himself received a confirmation of his rigorous orders. But this man, who had already caused a delay of three days upon slight pretences, shewed himself quite inflexible on the present important occasion. In vain I represented to him that I had no objection to shew all my papers to the confidential persons whom your Lordship might have appointed to see them; but, that it was even for your Lordship's interest that certain formalities should be observed towards me; that in the examination of my papers, my presence would be useful, if not absolutely necessary, in order to explain many things that could not be understood without me; whereas, he was sending me to the Continent, and forwarding my papers to London; that no doubt there was some mistake, which twenty-four hours' time would clear up. I was coolly told, in reply, that I need not be uneasy about returning from the Continent, if that was thought necessary, as your Lordship would defray all the expense of the voyage. My Lord, in what hands have you placed me? On another occasion, in which this man could surely not have consulted your wishes, I found myself compelled to silence my guard, in consequence of the gross and injurious expressions which he used concerning the

illustrious personage whom I respect above all others in this world.

“In short, my Lord, since I have reached your shores, I have been treated as a malefactor; and yet, where is my crime? A difference of political opinion, perhaps, and a voluntary imprisonment at Longwood! But is not the latter act one of the most noble and most generous; one so highly honourable, that the man does not exist who, at the bottom of his heart, would not be proud of having set the example of it? My Lord, the mildness of disposition and love of justice which are said to distinguish your Lordship, cannot, I am confident of it, have authorized all that has been done to me. Having been allowed to affix my seal to the papers that have been taken away from me, I have hastened to do so, not as a precaution against your Lordship, but on the contrary, to remedy, in your own interest, the want of formality of which your agents may have been guilty.

“I entreat your Lordship to reconsider my case, and not to form an opinion upon my papers, without having first received from me the explanations you may require; and which I shall ever be most ready to afford. I affirm beforehand, that whatever difference of opinion and feeling may be found in them, there is not one that will not bear the test of a judicial investigation, or of a friendly discussion. They contain nothing possessing any

degree of interest in state matters, and no political secrets. I never possessed any documents of that description, and if I had, opportunities would not have been wanting to have put them out of the way long ere this.

“It would perhaps be the moment to speak also to your Lordship, about the papers which have been taken from me at St. Helena, as well as respecting many other subjects to which I shall have to refer, either with your Lordship or Lord Bathurst; but the short space of time that I am allowed, and the confusion of ideas produced by circumstances so sudden and unforeseen, oblige me to defer doing so, to some future period.

“I shall anxiously await the answer, which your Lordship may be pleased to give me; but where I know not; most probably at Brussels, if I am allowed to remain there.

“I have the honour,” &c.

I was put on board of a packet, and we sailed for Ostend; and, as I have now and then taken the liberty to speak of physical sufferings, I shall be forgiven, if, in order to afford a more correct idea of what I must have suffered during my long passage, I observe here, that notwithstanding the hundred days which I had just passed at sea, I still happened to be sick again on board of this packet, although the weather was not absolutely bad. This was undoubtedly very ridiculous, but no less true.

The next day I got to Ostend, and landed without any observation having been made to me by any person. I again thought that this time my misfortunes were at an end, and that I had recovered my liberty; but I was again mistaken; persecutions of another kind were, on the contrary, going to begin: however, I had every reason to be satisfied with the first moments of my residence.

I had not been long at the inn before an agent of the local authorities came and told me, without my being able to guess how I had been already found out, that he had received orders to watch over me, and that he had immediately come to ask me in what manner I wished that he should fulfil his instructions.

I had not been accustomed to such polite manner for a length of time, and I made this observation to him; adding, that the step he had taken was quite sufficient to induce me to resign myself with entire confidence to whatever he might wish to do with me; and as his politeness had led to a prolongation of the conversation between us, which seemed greatly to excite his curiosity, he soon told me that he was going to put a question to me which was indiscreet, no doubt, and perhaps improper; but that he could not resist his desire of being informed, whether it was true that I had left Napoleon because he was so much soured by misfortune, that it was impossible to live with him; for the English ministerial papers had circu-



lated a thousand reports respecting me, one more ridiculous than the other. I replied to him with a smile, "Sir, if I had any thing to say against Napoleon, if I had the least subject of complaint to adduce against him, be assured that you would not have to guard me at this moment, and that I should be far from being ill treated any where." Upon which he exclaimed in his turn, striking his forehead, that such was the answer that ought to have suggested itself to his mind. His attentions towards me after this explanation, became still more marked; and having learnt from me that it was my intention to go to Brussels, he imposed no other condition to the uncontrolled liberty which he left me, than that of not taking my departure without informing him of it, assuring me at the same time, that a determination respecting me could not be delayed twenty-four hours longer, as a courier had been despatched to the Governor of the province, whose return would, in all probability set me entirely at liberty.

I took advantage of the delay to which I was thus obliged to submit, to write to the Ministers of the Police of France and of the Netherlands, respectively, concerning the situation in which I was henceforth to be placed.

To the French Minister I wrote in the following manner.

"Sir,—I think it right, on landing on the Continent, to inform your Excellency of the circum-

stances in which I am placed; and I trust that you will approve the motives that induce me to do so.

“A year ago, I was suddenly removed from Longwood, and have been, since that period, carried from shore to shore like a captive. On entering the Thames, I received an order to depart instantly to the Continent, having no other choice allowed to me but to proceed either to Calais or Ostend.

“A feeling of delicacy and prudence has prompted me to prefer Ostend.

“France is, of all countries, that where my appearance is most likely to be watched, and I have wished to save the department over which you preside, and myself, from the inconveniencies attending such a measure. This double consideration has induced me to adopt the cruel resolution of self-banishment. I have also been actuated by another motive, viz. the hope of possessing in this country greater facilities (setting aside all political views, influenced only by private and personal feelings of affection), to procure through the legal channel allowed by the English regulations, and even under the cover of the British Ministers, some alleviation and innocent consolations to the martyrs of Longwood. In France, this pious and sacred care might have been misinterpreted, and might consequently have given rise to impediments.

“ I hope that a statement so open and candid will remove all unfavourable impressions that might have been suggested to your mind by the circumstances of my case ; and in furtherance of that object, I now take the liberty of enclosing under your cover, an unsealed letter for my wife, in whose favour I request the interposition of your kindness, in any thing relating to your functions, that may facilitate the means of her coming to share my voluntary exile. Receive,” &c. &c.

- To the Minister of the Netherlands I wrote, That it is usual to endeavour to escape from being rendered subject to superintendence ; but that I, on the contrary, came to request to be placed under his. I repeated to him, as in the preceding letter, what had happened to me in the Thames, and that I had been thrown on the Continent without any motive having been adduced, or any cause assigned for this measure.

I informed him that I had just written to the Minister of the Police of France, to lay before him the motives that induced me to expose myself to voluntary exile. I represented to him that I was very ill, and that the state of my son's health was most alarming ; that I had just made a passage of a hundred days' duration in a very small vessel—that I was entirely ignorant as to whether my wife and family were still in existence—that I was totally in the dark respecting the state of my

domestic concerns; and taking all these circumstances into consideration, I entreated him to allow me to reside for a few days at Brussels, to breathe and look around me, to send for my wife, and have the benefit of the attendance of a physician; adding, that perhaps in the mean time, the British Ministers, whose harsh and precipitate conduct towards me must necessarily have been founded on some error, would consent to allow me to be present, agreeably to my request, at the examination of the papers which they had taken from me.

In conclusion, I assured him that I entertained no political views or feelings, that my sentiments were solely sentiments of individual affection and personal attachment; that such sentiments were natural and honourable, and that my open avowal of them must afford a perfect security; that they were not calculated to give any cause of uneasiness.

I owe it to justice and to gratitude to state, that my letter to the Minister of the Police of France had at least the effect of obtaining from him, when occasions offered, all that might be expected from a gentleman.

Such was not the case with respect to the Minister of the Netherlands; the only answer I received from him was the arrival of guards to secure my person. Orders were sent in every direction to

find me out again, for they thought I was lost. As I had been told by the person intrusted with the superintendence over me, the permission from the Governor to continue my journey had soon arrived, and I had immediately taken advantage of it; choosing, on account of the weak state of my health, the easy but obscure and slow conveyance of the barges and canals. This had not been thought of; and they were seeking for me at a great distance from Ostend, whilst I was still almost at its gates. My unsuspecting confidence and security had baffled all their calculations; they had not yet got the exact description of my person, and were consequently much embarrassed to know me; however, I myself soon put an end to their perplexity by coming and delivering myself up, as the saying is, to the wolf's jaws.

My first step, after my arrival at Brussels, which I reached late in the evening, after a journey of three days, was to send to inform the police of my being in that city, and ask what had been the determination of the Minister relative to my case, in consequence of the letter which I had addressed to him from Ostend. The generous answer to my innocent confidence, was to send instantly to surround the inn where I was, and they waited with impatience the first dawn of day to signify to me that I must leave the kingdom of the Netherlands without the least delay. I was very much indisposed, and had some degree of fever about me;

nevertheless, I vainly appealed to their compassion, and asked to be allowed to stay one day longer.

Very serious obstacles must certainly have existed to my being permitted to sojourn in Brussels, or a predisposition to treat me with cruelty, for I was not allowed even one hour. They placed me in a carriage between a police officer and a *gendarme*, and turned me on the high road. These people, who saw my condition, took compassion upon me, and after a few hours' journey consented to stop, in order that I might procure a little rest and some requisite medical attendance; but under the express condition that I should resume my journey at an early hour on the following morning, in charge of the guards appointed to succeed them; a system that was strictly acted upon and repeated in every town, notwithstanding the repeated observations and the testimony of all medical men. This cruel treatment compelled me to complain to the French Ambassador at the court of the Netherlands, who I thought would warmly resist such a proceeding; for it was an insult to his public character, to treat in this manner, without any just motive, and in direct violation of the laws, a Frenchman who was placed under his protection.

I therefore informed him of the vexatious and inhuman conduct which was then exercised towards me.

I told him, “ that upon landing at Ostend I had  
“ written to the French Minister of Police, to state  
“ to him my motives for remaining out of France ;  
“ that I had also written at the same time to the  
“ Minister of the Police of the Netherlands, re-  
“ questing he would allow me to sojourn a short  
“ time in Brussels, and that having reached that  
“ city at a late hour without having been guarded  
“ or placed under any superintendence, I had has-  
“ tened to inform his Excellency of my arrival ;  
“ but that I had been suddenly awaked before day-  
“ light on the following morning, and surrounded  
“ by four police officers and two *gendarmes*, who  
“ signified to me that I must instantly depart, not-  
“ withstanding the very precarious state of my  
“ health ; that I had in vain demanded a physician  
“ to verify my case ; that I had been told that I  
“ should be allowed one for form’s sake, but that  
“ I must depart, whatever might be his opinion ;  
“ that in fact I had been removed to Louvain like  
“ a malefactor, and in the last stage of sickness,  
“ under the escort of a *gendarme* and of a police  
“ officer ; that having arrived in this town during  
“ the night, suffering from increased illness, cover-  
“ ed with blisters, and in a state of fever, I had  
“ asked to be allowed to stop the following day ;  
“ that the Burgomaster had been inhuman enough  
“ to refuse my request, in spite of two or three  
“ very strong medical certificates ; that having  
“ demanded that the physician at least might ac-

“ company me in the carriage, instead of the *gendarme*, who could follow on horseback, this favour had also been refused to me; that all that could be allowed, they said, was that the physician should accompany me in another carriage. This was, no doubt, a piece of irony.”

I added, “ that I was quite certain that such treatment could not proceed from him, who alone, however, on this occasion, would have a right to exercise any influence over my fate; that I was too well acquainted with the sentiments of the nation to which we belonged, to suppose for a moment that his instructions could decree the proscription of a person towards whom there neither was, nor could be any law or motive for such a proceeding; that the ill usage I experienced could therefore only proceed from the authorities of this country, where however, in common justice, I ought not to be considered in any other light than as a traveller; that as such I would demand of them what was my crime, and what were their rights over my person.” And I ended, by placing my interests under his care, as his situation made him their natural protector; and with the view of calling his attention more particularly upon me, I gave him news of Madame Bertrand, his wife’s sister, which I had received just as I was leaving Dover, and I offered myself, in case Madame de Latour Dupin wished to say any thing to her sister, to whom it



would afford the greatest pleasure, to take charge of it, as I proposed to write to Madame Bertrand regularly once a month, by the channel which the English regulations allowed, viz., under the very cover of Ministers.

His Excellency made no reply to this letter; his endeavours, no doubt, proved unavailing; the impulse, the very orders, perhaps, emanated at this time from the other side of the water.

I continued in this manner, without intermission, transferred from town to town, from one police officer to another, from *gendarme* to *gendarme*, across the whole kingdom of the Netherlands; and when I occasionally asked, in the height of my sufferings, what could be the motive for so harsh a treatment? I was simply told, in reply, that such were the orders that had been given; and, in fact, this was all that appeared to be known on the subject. Arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the Prussian territory, I was there exchanged by the agents of the Netherlands for a receipt, as might have been done with a bale of goods; and the Prussians, in their turn, hurried me along with equal rapidity from place to place, from officer to officer, and from one *gendarme* to another; and, when I inquired of them also the motive of all this, they candidly answered that they did not know it; but that I had been thrown into their country, and that they were going to throw me out of it. If I asked to stop, they politely replied

that they would not keep me upon their territory; and some friends, for it will hereafter be seen that I found friends every where, whispered in my ear, that I ought to thank God for it, and, above all things, to take immediate advantage of this piece of good fortune, as some exiled Frenchmen had lately been forced to the shores of the Baltic, and shut up in fortresses. I then declared that I desired to go to Frankfort, an expression which appeared to give pleasure to my hosts, the Prussians, as they said it would no longer concern them. After what I had just learnt, I was equally rejoiced at this upon my own account.

After having described, but very feebly, all the savage brutality that had just been exercised upon me, all the vexations and sufferings that I had endured, it would be unjust and ungrateful in me, and I should be depriving myself of the most gratifying sensation, were I to omit mentioning the kind of compensation which I found at every step of my journey.

My story had made a great noise ; it had spread in every direction ; it preceded me ; the public papers had laid hold of it. It was known whom I had served, to whom I had wished to devote my care, for whom I suffered ; and all endeavoured to mark their sense of my conduct. All classes were eager to evince every mark of attention and sympathy towards me ; and open demonstrations, or secret offers, awaited me every where. It was

then that those words of Napoleon occurred to my mind, which I have, by the way, had many subsequent occasions to recall to my recollection : “ My dear friends, when you shall have returned to Europe, you will find that, from this spot, I still bestow crowns.” And can there be a nobler, a more precious one, than the esteem, the affection, the sympathy of those even who know you not, and have never seen you ? What hand, however powerful, can bestow any thing of equal value ? These feelings manifested themselves at inns, upon the high roads, every where. Postboys, *gendarmes*, all that I met with on my journey, addressed me with a kind of pride and exultation : one said, “ I belonged to the Imperial Guard ;” another, “ I was a French *gendarme* ;” a third, “ I have been a soldier under Napoleon.” These recollections, and the feelings of good will to which they gave rise, appeared in all classes and conditions. Twice, in Belgium, I was offered to be carried off, every thing having been, I was informed, carefully prepared beforehand ; the same offer had already been made to me at the Cape, by an American Captain ; and a similar proposal was made to me at a later period, on the part of some Englishmen, to whom I was quite unknown, and who had resolved to come from London in order to carry me off from Frankfort, where they thought me in a much worse situation than I really was. But

I invariably replied—"What purpose would that answer? Why should I injure so noble a cause?"

The very agents of authority felt an anxiety concerning my fate, and a kind of interest for me. One of them, although appointed to watch me, offered to take charge of any paper I would venture to intrust to his care; I availed myself of his offer, as I did not see any inconvenience in so doing, even if he had some bad intention, as he might possibly have, and I addressed, to a person of high rank in England, a letter of half a dozen lines, describing with warmth the ill usage which the British Ministers had made me suffer for the last twelve months, and requesting that he would publish my statement, if he saw no objection to it. I enclosed, with the same view, that part of the Emperor's letter which I had been allowed to copy, adding that I should have continued to keep it to myself, had not the ridiculous and insulting reports which were inserted in the newspapers, rendered it imperative upon me to make it public. I, however, left to his discretion to decide what should be done.

How great was my surprise to see the whole published in the Belgic papers two days afterwards! I was extremely mortified at it; it was not at all consistent with my disposition to wish to make so much noise. I was, above all, especially hurt that the person in England to whom I addressed my letter, and to whom I was unknown,

should receive it only through the public press : this mode of proceeding was also totally inconsistent with my manners. I was at a loss to conceive how the thing could have happened. I have since learnt that my confidant, in the warmth of his zeal, had consulted with two or three persons of the same way of thinking, and that the papers having been read in their little council, they had decided that, instead of losing time in sending them to England, where, perhaps, no use would be made of them, it would be better to publish them instantly upon the spot, where indeed they created a very lively sensation. Notwithstanding the trouble that I then suffered from them, they proved, in the event, of the most signal advantage to me.

In short, there would be no end to it, were I to mention the affecting marks of attention that were shewn to me ; the offers of all kinds, in money, clothes, &c. &c. ; even people of the very lowest class were eager to tender their mite. One of them, forcing his way into my apartment, from which he was pulled back by the *gendarmes*, cried out to me that he had only two coats ; that he saw, by my size, that the second would not fit me ; that he was therefore going to sell it, and would throw me the amount through the window. What sufferings, what torments would not be effaced by the sensations which such acts must produce ?

I was, however, so ill on arriving at Cologne,

that it was found necessary to allow me to stop twenty-four hours in that town. This increase of suffering turned out a fortunate circumstance for me. I was in a gentle sleep, when, on a sudden, the *valet de place* rushed into my apartment with demonstrations of that joy which the bearer of good news is sure to occasion and even to experience, and announced to me Madame de Las Cases. I had not yet been able to ascertain whether she was alive, and therefore thought that I had misunderstood the man, or was dreaming; but, in a moment after, the door was thrown open—it was she herself! The poor dear woman, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, had been running after me a considerable time, through rain and snow, without being able to overtake me. As soon as she had learnt, through the medium of the newspapers, my arrival in Europe and my removal to Ostend, she had started immediately for the latter place, and it was only at the entrance of that town that she had heard I had already left it. She had since been following me, tracing my steps by the persecutions and vexations to which I was exposed, and which every one related to her as she proceeded, even the common passengers on the road, or which she read every morning in the newspapers; and herself receiving also, every where and from every one, those expressions of interest and benevolence, those marks of attention and zeal, of which it will be seen that I had been the

object. Thus, for many days, she was exposed to the most tantalizing vexation of being always within a few hours' distance from me, without being able to overtake me, and, but for this accidental delay at Cologne, she would not have succeeded even now.

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## RESIDENCE IN GERMANY.

• FROM THE TIME OF MY ARRIVAL AT FRANKFORT TO THE PERIOD  
OF MY RESIDENCE AT OFFENBACH.

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A Space of Fifteen Months.

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*Residence at Frankfort.—My Endeavours to alleviate the Situation of the Inhabitants of Longwood.—Letters to Maria Louisa and to the Allied Sovereigns.—My Letter to Lord Bathurst.—Petition to the British Parliament.—Transactions with several Members of the Emperor's Family.—Measures to supply the Wants of Longwood; Details, &c.—Journey to Baden.—Residence at Manheim; Motives for this choice.—Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle; my Efforts; Details.—Letter from Madame the Emperor's Mother, &c.—Note to the Sovereigns.—New Official Documents received from Longwood, and addressed to the Sovereigns; new Efforts; &c.—State of Public Opinion.—Arrival of the brig Musquito.—Fresh Vexation; the Minister of Baden causes me to leave Manheim.—I retire to Offenbach.*

THE band of captives arrived at last at Frankfort, after having, during fifteen days, undergone perse-

cutions almost unexampled in civilized countries, and in a state of tranquillity. A Prussian officer, whose duty, he politely said, was not so much to guard me as to see that I was well treated, had conducted me thither. He did not allow me to communicate freely with any person, and was not to leave me until some authentic and final decision had been adopted with respect to me.

On arriving at Frankfort, I immediately sent to our Ambassador, as I had done in the Netherlands, the following letter :

“ SIR,—I have the honour, on arriving in this town, to claim the protection of your public character, against the rigorous measures which have been adopted against me for some time past.

“ I have been arrested, and am carried about from town to town, under escort, against my will, like a captive. Those who act thus, candidly confess that they only push me on in that manner, because I have been so brought to them ; and they have not any special motive or positive order on the subject. On my passage through the Netherlands, I have addressed a representation on the subject to our ambassador at the Court of the Hague ; but I have been hurried on so precipitately, that it has not been possible for me to receive any answer. I take the liberty of sending you a copy of the letter which I addressed to him, in order to put your Excellency in possession of the first details of my adventure.

“ It is now, Sir, the hundred and thirtieth day of my travelling ; I am harassed, tired, sick, and infirm ; I have been tossed by the fury of the waves, and must perish at last if I cannot find a port. In the name of humanity and justice, I implore to be allowed to take breath for a moment. I have found an erroneous impression existing every where in my way : and those who thus



disposed of my person have all expressed the greatest surprise, when the discussion of the point has proved that there did not exist in France any law or act, either public or private, directed against me; and that nothing had ever occurred that could give rise to such a proceeding. I request, Sir, that you will be kind enough to prevent, by your testimony, the possibility of an error that might influence the decision to be taken with respect to me; and that you will grant me that protection which I am naturally entitled to expect from you in your public character.

“ I have the honour,” &c.

“ P. S. I think it right to inform your Excellency that, in the perplexity of my situation, I wrote a few days since to His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, to request an asylum in his dominions, should my liberty be placed under any restraint. But a distant country, the language and manners of which are quite new to me, cannot suit me, except in case of necessity. I should wish to be as near to France as possible, in order to be able to see my family, and attend to my domestic concerns, which have been neglected for the last three years; and Brussels, which, in addition to these advantages, possesses that of the language, which would enable me to superintend the education of my children, is the place in which I should be happy to reside. I have requested M. Latour Dupin, at the Hague, to obtain the necessary permission to enable me to do so, and I earnestly entreat you to assist him, in as far as it lies in your power.”

The same thing that had happened in the Netherlands happened also at Frankfort; I received no answer to my letter. But his Excellency did not remain idle with respect to me, and I have been assured that he had immediately required from the senate of this free and sovereign city, my removal within the space of twenty-four hours. Fortunately the Prussian officer who was obliged

to follow me, and who did not relish such a continuation of our journey, induced the Minister from his court to interfere, in order that I might be allowed to remain at Frankfort. Discussions were therefore held on my case, and I had at first resolved to wait patiently to see to whom the charge of my person would remain; but in compliance with some good advice that was given to me, I applied to the Minister of Austria (the Baron de Wesseberg), to inform him that I had applied to his Sovereign to implore an asylum in his dominions, and that I should consider myself fortunate in being allowed to await his decision here. These few words, addressed to a man of honourable and generous feelings, were quite sufficient to put an immediate end to the fresh vexations to which I was exposed. He instantly interfered, declared that I was temporarily under the protection of his Sovereign, and demanded that things should remain *in statu quo* until he heard from his court.

From that instant every thing became calm, and the tide of British persecutions, which rolling from afar had so long harassed my existence, was at last stopped. The senate allowed me to reside in Frankfort, and the Prussian officer took his departure. Politeness now succeeded to churlishness: Prince Hardenberg, to whom I had written to complain of my arrest in the Rhenish provinces, replied that he had been very angry about it him-

self. An answer came from Vienna, most graciously granting the asylum which I had demanded. I was now free, and I acquired also the hope of seeing my liberty respected for the future ; for the Duke of Richelieu, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to whom our Ambassador at Frankfort applied respecting me, answered, I was told, " that I should be left unmolested."

The Duke of Richelieu, feeling his independence, had no doubt only followed the impulse of his natural generosity, whereas it must be presumed that these sentiments were restrained in the breast of our Ambassador at Frankfort, by the necessity of giving pledges of his fidelity, having been formerly Napoleon's minister at the court of King Jerome. This line of conduct was very proper on his part, no doubt ; but I had a right to think it unfortunate that it had, on this occasion, been pursued at my expense.

My first care, as soon as I was at liberty to dispose of my actions, was entirely directed to the grand motive which had caused my departure from St. Helena, and brought me back to Europe. Though repulsed from London, where I had founded my greatest hopes, I nevertheless embraced with ardour the means that were still left to me.

I first wrote to Maria Louisa, as in duty bound, and addressed my letter to her unsealed and under cover to Prince Metternich, principal Minister of

Austria. I afterwards wrote to the three Allied Sovereigns. I transcribe here those letters :

*Letter to Maria Louisa, written at the Cape of Good Hope, and forwarded to Europe.*

“MADAM,—I have no sooner left St. Helena, than I think it my duty to hasten to lay at the feet of your Majesty some intelligence from your august consort. I have been suddenly torn from his presence, without any previous notice, and as it were struck with sudden death at his side, without the possibility of his having foreseen such an event. I am not therefore fortunate enough to be intrusted with any special message for your Majesty ; and it is from his every day habits and conversation that I must collect what details I shall presume to transmit to your Majesty.

“Indifferent to public events, the Emperor Napoleon most frequently indulged in the contemplation of his family recollections and affections. He was grieved at not having ever received, although he had officially demanded it of those who guard him, any news from those who are most dear to him. Your Majesty will find the lively expression of that regret traced by the hand of your illustrious consort, in the letter which he did me the honour to write me, after I had been separated from him, a copy of which I shall take the liberty of laying before your Majesty.\*

“The health of the Emperor, at my departure, was very much impaired, and his situation was most painful in every respect, being exposed to numerous wants, and deprived of every enjoyment. Fortunately his mind triumphed unhurt, and remained calm and serene.

“I have seen him obliged, every month to sell, part of his plate to supply his daily wants, and he has been reduced to accept a small sum which a faithful servant was fortunate enough to have at his disposal in England, when he left him.

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\* See the Letter from the Emperor Napoleon to Count Las Cases, in Part VII.

"Madam, guided by the sentiments which fill my heart, I take the liberty, as a devoted servant, to lay at the feet of your Majesty, in the hope of being agreeable to you, a sacrifice which is dear to me, being some hair of your august consort, which has been a long time in my possession. I presume also to send at the same time to your Majesty, a plan of Longwood,\* drawn by my son for his mother. Your Majesty will no doubt feel interested in examining in its details this remote desert.

"On arriving in Europe, my first step would be to go and throw myself at the feet of your Majesty, if a sacred duty did not oblige me to remain in England, in order to devote every instant of my life to endeavour to impart, through the means allowed by the British regulations, some consolation to the inhabitants of that horrible rock, which must ever retain the object of my most tender cares. The British Ministers will not refuse to allow me to undertake this pious occupation. I shall solicit it with ardour, and fulfil it with loyalty. I am, &c.

"COUNT DE LAS CASES."

"P. S. On my arrival in Europe, Madam, I have been ejected by England, arrested on the Continent, detained by sickness at Frankfort, and have just obtained an asylum in the dominions of your august father. I take advantage of the first moment of my liberty, to address to your Majesty the above letter, that was written for you at the extremity of Africa, at a distance of three thousand leagues. I entreat your Majesty to deign to receive it favourably, and that will be some consolation for my sufferings."

*Letter to Prince Metternich, containing the preceding.*

"PRINCE,—I hasten to offer to your Highness my sincere thanks, for the favour of an asylum obtained in the dominions of his Majesty the Emperor.

"I take the liberty at the same time to enclose under cover to you, a letter for her Majesty Maria Louisa. And here, Prince,

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\* See the Plan.

I entreat you to allow me to lay aside the public character with which your Highness is invested, to address you in your private character only. I wish to ask for advice rather than to accomplish an act. Having been so long absent from Europe, I might unknowingly and unwillingly transgress the rules of expediency. I give myself up to the effusion of my heart.

" Prince, the result of these different feelings has been to induce me to confide the letter which I enclose herein, unsealed, to your discretion and personal judgment. It is again the result of these same feelings, which impels me to represent to you the Emperor Napoleon a prey on his rock to the persecution of some personal enemies, and abandoned by all the rest of the world. Henceforth I shall live only in the hope of affording him some sources of consolation. From a daily intercourse of eighteen months, and, I may say, from some moments of unreserved confidence, I know those that would be most dear to him. And who can know Napoleon better than I do? He already feels and converses on the subjects of the past events of his own history, as if they had happened three hundred years ago. He has only remained unchanged with respect to family feelings. Whatever political events may have occurred, he entertains no doubts on the score of domestic sentiments. How, through what channels, by what means, could I, without transgressing the rules of expediency, or any regulations and intentions, obtain direct intelligence concerning his wife and his son? Prince, I again repeat that this communication is from man to man: it is one heart questioning another.

" During my residence at St. Helena, we have not had any intercourse, nor been able to have any, with the Commissioner from Austria. Your Highness must have read in a public document,\* written in answer to the Governor, that *if the Austrian and Russian Commissioners had been sent to see that Napoleon was treated in a proper manner and with the respect due to him, this measure was in harmony with the character of their Sovereigns*;

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\* Letter from Count Montholon in answer to Sir Hudson Lowe. See Part V.

*but that the Governor having declared that they had no right nor authority to interfere on the subject, had by that declaration rendered them inadmissible.* At the same time, Napoleon publicly said that he would willingly receive them as private individuals, yet we have not seen them; be it that such was the tenor of their instructions, or, as I have more reason to suppose, that the Governor wished to subject them, as private individuals, to restrictions which would have degraded their character.

"Your Highness will see by the copy of a letter, transcribed for her Majesty Maria Louisa, the severity used towards an Austrian botanist, and how much the Emperor Napoleon was hurt by that circumstance. I again repeat to your Highness the expression of the nature of my sentiments, and the assurance of the high respect with which I am, &c.

"COUNT DE LAS CASES."

"P. S. In case my letter for her Majesty Maria Louisa should not be delivered to her, I request your Highness will do me the particular favour to cause the hair which is enclosed in it to be returned to me."

*Letter to His Majesty the Emperor of Russia.*

"SIRE,—A sentiment, a sacred duty, brings me to the feet of your Majesty.

"The zealous and faithful servant of a royal victim of adversity presumes to lift up his voice to your throne, surrounded by every prosperity which fortune can bestow; will you refuse to hear him?

"Unexpectedly torn from Napoleon, and, as it were, struck with sudden death at his side, I have since wandered as in another universe, pursued every where by the recollection of sufferings which I have witnessed, and can no longer share.

"It is at your feet, Sire, that my heart prompts me to seek for an alleviation of my affliction, for encouragement to my hope.

"Your treaty of the 2d August, 1816, with your illustrious Allies, stipulates that Napoleon is your prisoner, and abandons to

England the possession of his person, and the care and necessary measures of his detention.

“ I shall not say any thing against that treaty, Sire; I shall not even complain of the manner in which the British Ministers execute that part of the treaty which you have intrusted to their care.

“ The high interests of politics, the great grievances, however they may weigh upon my heart, are at this moment far from my thoughts; domestic cares alone occupy my breast.

“ I therefore implore your Majesty, as I have implored your high Allies,\* to deign to protect the request which I address to the English Government, to be allowed to devote myself in London to the care of procuring for the illustrious captive, through the means allowed by the laws and regulations, some moral enjoyments, and some physical comforts, which will not be a burden to any body.

“ My request, Sire, is an innocent favour, natural and simple, and against which no reasonable objection can be raised. Indeed, I profess strong claims on your Majesty’s attention; in making that request, you are far from being a stranger to them.

“ In abandoning to others the custody and detention of the captive, your Majesty has certainly not renounced your right of superintendence over the marks of attention and respect due to his sacred person. In renouncing all political interposition, your Majesty has not intended to preclude yourself from contributing to the consolations approved by your individual sentiments, and to those alleviations that do not interfere with the principal object in view.

“ Every day, Sire, at St. Helena, chains are imposed, and their weight is aggravated in your name. Can you, Sire, have allowed your name to reach that spot, only to authorize odious and intolerable acts of severity?

“ He upon whom these acts are inflicted, Sire, is the same to

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\* Similar letters had been addressed to the Emperor of Austria and to the King of Prussia, varied only in some particulars, as the individual circumstances of these Princes respectively required.



whom you long gave the name of *brother*. Your royal heart cannot forget it, it cannot remain insensible. I therefore appeal, in order to obtain a small favour, to your sympathy, to your recollections, and even to your dignity. Your magnanimous mind, Sire, has shewn itself too much the friend of public morality, it has displayed too much private delicacy and generosity in its various bearings, to allow me to doubt for an instant of success.

“ And what is, Sire, once more, the object for which I request your protection? Merely to be allowed to be near the place of communication and conveyance, that is, on the spot the most favourable, and in the situation the most proper, to be able, according to the prescribed forms and regulations, to continue from afar, those domestic cares which I am no longer allowed to exercise in the prison itself: that is all.

“ Nevertheless, Sire, I implore and expect this favour from your Majesty. And how happy should I be if your Majesty should deign to add to it, that of confiding to my care, that part of the private and moral interest, which your great engagements cannot have compelled you to renounce. And who better than myself, Sire, could fulfil that duty? Who could devote himself to it with more ardour? I have banished myself from my native country, in order to be able to give up to that purpose the rest of my life without interruption or restraint. Deign, Sire, to listen to me, and comply with my request, I beseech you. And on whom are these cares to be bestowed? In whose favour do I solicit to be allowed to sacrifice myself? Sire, it is in favour of the man whom you once called your friend.

“ The reign of your Majesty is sufficiently distinguished by prodigies and monuments of glory; with these, history is already provided; let it also record acts of more exalted virtue, do something for friendship!—Let history say of you; in the midst of the most violent political contest that ever existed, he gave the example of something still greater than victory: he remembered, he respected the feelings of ancient friendship! . . . .

“ How many times, on our rock, have I heard the Emperor Napoleon conversing on the past events of his life, as if they

had occurred several centuries ago, and already speaking the language of history, say : *I never had any war with the Emperor Alexander but a political one ; that war had nothing to do with our individual feelings ; I cannot suppose him to feel any personal animosity against me.* A circumstance which would be worthy of you, Sire, tended to confirm him in this opinion. A report reached us on our rock, that the Commissioner of your Majesty at St. Helena, had, at the end of his instructions, a recommendation, written by your Majesty's own hand, enjoining him most positively to shew the same marks of respect to the Emperor Napoleon, as are shewn to yourself. We took pleasure in repeating this report to him ; we were aware that he was pleased by it. Such a proceeding was in harmony with the character of your Majesty, and we believed in it ; without, however, having had it in our power to convince ourselves of its truth ; for (during my stay at least) we never could hold any communication with the Commissioner of your Majesty. You will doubtless have heard, that Napoleon being required by the Governor of St. Helena, to receive the Commissioner of your Majesty, and that of your illustrious ally, the Emperor of Austria, ordered the following answer to be given : *That if those Commissioners were ordered by their Masters, to take care, that in an island in the midst of the ocean, remote from the rest of the world, he should be treated with the respect due to him, he recognised, in that measure, the character of these two Princes ; that the Governor having declared that they had no right to interfere in any thing that happened on that rock, they from that moment were without an official character in his eyes.* He, however, added, that he should be happy to see them as private individuals ; but this message remained without effect, either from their having never been apprized of it, or from their instructions not allowing them to take advantage of it ; or lastly, perhaps (and I do not think it at all improbable) because the English Governor wished in that case to subject them to certain conditions, which were inconsistent with their character.

“ If I have thus presumed, Sire, to raise my humble voice to

your Majesty ; my temerity was inspired by the entire, ardent, and unalterable devotion which I cherish for him who once reigned over me, who was my master . . . . . and that sentiment will plead in my favour in the eyes of your Majesty.

“ I am, &c.

“ COUNT DE LAS CASES.”

With a heart still oppressed by all the ill usage I had experienced, proceeding from the British Government, I deemed it incumbent upon me, and a public duty as it were, to complain to Lord Bathurst in the following letter, which, by the way, was kept secret for upwards of ten months, and might have remained so for ever, had not Mr. Goulburn, Under Secretary of State, by certain misplaced and incorrect assertions which he made in the House of Commons concerning me, as will hereafter be seen, compelled me in some degree to publish it. This circumstance, however, is an additional pledge to the reader, of the authenticity and correctness of all the facts which I have stated.

*Letter of Count de Las Cases to Lord Bathurst.*

“ MY LORD,—Were I to bear in silence the arbitrary and tyrannical acts, the infraction of the laws, the contempt of all forms, the violation of principles, of which I have been a victim, for upwards of a year that I have been in the hands of your agents, my silence might be construed into a tacit acquiescence which would render me guilty towards myself, towards you, and towards society at large. Towards myself, because I have ample cause to seek for redress ; towards you, who are ignorant of my grounds of complaint, and might perhaps hasten to grant me

that redress, and towards society ; on whose behalf every upright man ought sternly to resist the encroachments of power, for the honour of the laws, and for the protection of those who come after him.

“ My Lord, if I have so long delayed stating my grievances to you, the blame attaches to yourself, to the persecution that has assailed me upon your shores, and to that to which you have given the impulse in neighbouring countries. It would appear, in fact, as if a species of torment had been invented for me ; a deportation in the high roads. I have been carried from one to another like a malefactor, notwithstanding that I was in a dying state, without any motive having been assigned for such conduct, and without being allowed to take any rest. How then was it possible for me to write to you ?

“ If I now address your Lordship personally respecting what concerns me, it is because all the acts of which I have to complain have originated, and have been continued in your department, and under your name ; and that if other hands have since oppressed me, I am indebted to your Lordship for being placed within their reach, and to your suggestions for the treatment which they have inflicted upon me.

“ My Lord, I am one of the four to which your orders at Plymouth had reduced the number of those who eagerly sought the happiness and glory of following the illustrious victim of the *dreadful hospitality of the Bellerophon* ; I followed my sacred occupation at Longwood to the best of my power ; all the faculties of my heart and soul were engaged in soothing the bitterest captivity ever known, when the Governor of St. Helena suddenly tore me away from that Island. Perhaps he was right : I had infringed his regulations. But after all, I was guilty of no other crime than that of using the right which every prisoner possesses, of endeavouring without any scruple to deceive the vigilance of his gaoler ; for between us nothing had been left to delicacy, confidence, or, honour. I have not complained of the proceedings enforced against me. I was only grieved at the uncalled-for insult inflicted upon him from whom I was separated. It was

almost by his side, almost under his eye, that I was arrested ; on which occasion he wrote, what you no doubt will have read, that seeing me from his windows hurried off on the plain, in the midst of waving plumes and horses prancing around me, he had fancied he saw the savages of the South Sea, who, in their ferocious joy, dance round the victim whom they are about to devour.

“ My Lord, it was natural for me to believe that the cause of what has happened to me, the confiding of secret documents to my servant at his own request, was but the result of a snare laid for me. The Governor himself agreed with me that appearances might justify my suspicion ; but he gave me his word of honour that he had nothing to do in the business, and I believed him. It had originally been intended, however, that those secret documents should pass through the Governor’s hands ; they would have been addressed to him, if he had not informed me a short time before, that if I continued to write in the same style, he would separate me from him to whom I devoted my existence. So true is this assertion, and so unimportant in themselves were the documents, that they have never since been mentioned ; they have remained entirely unconnected with the event to which they had given rise.\*

“ My Lord, my captivity in St. Helena was only voluntary. According to your own regulation, it was to cease at my pleasure : As soon, therefore, as I found myself separated from Longwood, I signified to Sir Hudson Lowe, that I, from that moment, withdrew from his personal control, and placed myself again under the protection of the civil and general laws ; that if I had

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\* Unless this should be what a Minister intended to allude to in the British Parliament, on the 14th May, 1818.

Endeavouring to justify the persecutions exercised against Count de Las Cases, he said that he had been found out in an attempt to establish a correspondence in Europe, through the medium of England. But the noble Lord only made the assertion orally, and refused to exhibit the official documents that would have afforded a proof of it. An opinion may be formed on this subject from this latter circumstance.

committed any offence, I demanded to be sent into the presence of my judges; that if he thought it necessary to submit to the inspection of Ministers my papers, which I had given him sufficient time to examine and to understand, I desired they might be sent to you, my Lord, and that I might be sent with them. And in order that he should have the less difficulty in taking this determination, I represented to him the dreadful state of my health, and the imminent danger of my son, which required our being sent to where we might procure the first medical advice; and I further added, that I submitted willingly and unreservedly to every restriction, however illegal, that your Lordship might deem it necessary to impose upon me when I should have arrived in England. Sir Hudson Lowe did not think himself at liberty to take this step; and after he had long hesitated, and had kept me a close prisoner in the Island during five or six weeks, he at last sent me off to the Cape of Good Hope, according to the letter of his instructions; a measure which he might, and certainly ought to have adopted within a few days after my arrest. This Governor at the same time, kept back such of my papers as he thought proper, without allowing me to affix my seal to them, or he would only allow me to do so under the derisive condition of my express consent to his breaking the seal in my absence if he thought proper, which was equivalent to a prohibition of sealing them at all.

“By the aid of such subterfuges, Sir Hudson Lowe might likewise assert that it was in my power to return to Longwood; it is true, that being urged by my arguments, and by the delicacy of his position with respect to me, he offered to let me go back there, because that would have relieved him from his embarrassment. But at the same time he made the offer, he rendered it impossible for me to accept it: ‘You have disgraced me and dishonoured me,’ said I to him, ‘in arresting me in Napoleon’s presence; I could no longer be an object of consolation for him, but one rather that would bring painful and injurious recollections to his mind; I could not appear again at Longwood except at his express desire.’ I asked leave to write; I even did write

to inquire whether there existed such a wish; but Sir Hudson Lowe insisted upon dictating or controlling the expressions of my letter, and I was bound to refuse. His advantages were by far too great already, placed as he was amongst close prisoners, whose actions he separately directed at his will. Besides, if I even went back, he did not consent to return me my papers. The very next day he might renew upon me, or upon my unfortunate companions, the example of such degrading acts of authority; I had the grief of having opened the door to such an abuse of power, and my return would give to it the sanction of precedent for the future; no alternative was, therefore, left to me, but to quit the Island with an aching heart.

“ I think, my Lord, I have stated to you every thing relating to my affairs at St. Helena; this account is proved and developed in my correspondence with Sir Hudson Lowe, all the documents of which, carefully arranged and put in order by myself, were seized in the Thames by your directions, and are at present in your possession.

“ My Lord, when I arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, I thought myself better situated for enjoying the protection of your laws. Away from the fatal island, where certain irregularities might perhaps find a colouring in the importance of the motive which had occasioned them, I found myself at a distance of five hundred leagues, in a quiet colony, governed by the uncontrolled operation of your excellent laws so deservedly extolled. How great was my astonishment! Lord Charles Somerset found no difficulty in doing at the Cape, what Sir Hudson Lowe had not dared to do at St. Helena;—to detain me a prisoner. In vain I made the same entreaties, and urged the same arguments; in vain I offered the same concessions that I offered to Sir Hudson Lowe, in order that I might be sent to your Lordship in Europe; all was useless; he detained me. And this was an act of his own will and caprice, for Sir Hudson Lowe was not his superior, and could not therefore give him any orders. Lord Charles Somerset governed without control; he held a discretionary power; he could and ought to have been a summary judge in

my affair, but he constantly refused to listen to me, rejected all explanation, and notwithstanding my warm and urgent representations, contented himself with coolly inquiring of my natural judges, at a distance of three thousand leagues, whether he should do right in sending me to them ; thereby inflicting upon me from that moment, the most dreadful sentence that any tribunal could ever have pronounced ; an exile, and an imprisonment of seven or eight months' duration, separated by three thousand leagues from my family, my private affairs, my country, my connexions, and all my affections.

“ My Lord, according to the sanctity of your laws, and to the principles which have been transmitted to you by your forefathers, Lord Charles Somerset has become guilty towards me of the greatest of crimes ; a crime which in the eyes of many people is equal to that of homicide, and which, from the torments I have been made to endure, exceeds it in mine. I denounce it to you, and demand justice at your hands. There is not an Englishman valuing his noble privileges, whose voice does not unite with mine, and who does not form to himself a correct idea of the torments I have suffered. In vain it will be alleged, that the Cape is but a colony governed by a military power, and still, to a certain extent, by Dutch laws. My Lord, the justice and protection of the British laws ought to reign, wherever the British name extends. What would be a crime on the banks of the Thames, cannot be a matter of indifference in a part of Africa, over which the British standard waves.

“ I was not a prisoner of war ; I could only be a prisoner amenable to the tribunals. To have kept me eight months separated from my judges, is a denial of justice that would make an Englishman shudder ; to have punished me without either trial or sentence, is an act of tyranny which is revolting to your legislation. What did I ask of Lord Charles Somerset ? Did I demand my liberty ? No ; I only requested that I might be sent a prisoner to you, and undergo a trial, if there was cause for one. But he sported in this instance with that, which reason holds most sacred, which is most pleasing to the heart, and dearest to



man. What could be his motives? What excuses could he plead? He constantly and obstinately refused to give any. And here, my Lord, I desire it may be understood, that indignation and grief do not carry me so far, as not to distinguish in Lord Charles Somerset the private attentions with which he endeavoured to soften my captivity from the infamy of the public act by which he doomed me to it; although it is true, that towards the end of my residence, the warmth of my expressions, and no doubt the importunity of my appeals, exasperated him so far as to induce him to keep me confined in the country, in spite of my entreaties, and of the deplorable state of my health, out of the daily reach of physicians and medicines.

“At last, my Lord, after a captivity of seven months, it was signified to me, no doubt in consequence of orders arrived from your Lordship, that I had only to procure a vessel to carry me to England. In vain I asked that some opportunity might be selected, which would afford some of those comforts which the distressing state of my health, and that of my son, required; every suitable ship was refused to me under some pretence or other; and the choice that was left to me, was reduced to the only vessel on the eve of sailing; and even that was pointed out to me by the Governor himself. I was compelled to embark in it as a *prisoner*, and yet *at my own expense*; (this, by the way, appears a little contradictory;) and in this brig of the burden of two hundred and thirty tons, and having a crew of twelve men, we had to endure a voyage of nearly one hundred days, without a physician and subjected to all the inconveniences, all the privations, all the evils, attendant upon so small a vessel.

“This, my Lord, is all that concerns my affair at the Cape of Good Hope, the proof and particulars of which, are to be found in my correspondence with Lord Charles Somerset, which was seized in the Thames by your orders, and is at present in your possession.

“On reaching your shores, my Lord, I thought I had got to the end of my troubles. On my arrival at the Cape, I had the honour of addressing a letter to the Prince Regent, to im-

phers his royal protection; I had also written one to your Lordship upon the same subject, and I had no doubt that the order given for my return, was owing to those letters. Already I felt my sufferings alleviated by the pleasing prospect of seeing some friends I have in London, and of resuming the management of my private affairs, which had been either neglected, or totally ruined during an absence of upwards of three years; but what was my surprise! On arriving in the Thames, I was instantly placed in solitary confinement, and had seals put upon my papers. A few hours afterwards, one of your messengers came to seize my person in the middle of the night, signified to me the order for my being conveyed to the Continent, and conducted me to Dover, for the purpose of sending me there. A delay of three days having occurred, his zeal led him to turn this time to account; he restored my papers to me; procured me every facility for writing; did all he could to encourage me to write, and watched for the very last moment previous to my departure, in order to make the most minute search after my papers, and carry every one of them away, to the very last written line. This, my Lord, is a kind of snare which I am far from attributing to any other cause, than to the baseness of the person who laid it.

“A similar circumstance had occurred at St. Helena. Sir Hudson Lowe after having kept me confined for five weeks, during which he had allowed me every facility to write, wished at my departure, to search again amongst my papers; but it was sufficient for me to observe to him, how strange it would appear, that he had afforded me the facility of confiding to paper, ideas which I should otherwise have kept within my own breast. Sir Hudson Lowe instantly gave up the thought; it is an acknowledgment which, in justice to the Governor, I am bound to make.

“What appears most strange, my Lord, and what will hardly be credited, is, that your messenger should have packed up all my papers, in spite of my remonstrances, and have taken them away from me, without writing down an inventory of them, or attending to any of the formalities required by all received no-

tions of jurisprudence throughout the world. Persuaded that this deviation from first principles proceeded from the ignorance of the subaltern, and not from the orders of the Minister, I sought for your own interest, my Lord, to remedy the evil, by obtaining, and hastening to affix my seal to the papers, in order that you might rectify in time the errors of your agents. I am anxious that your Lordship should appreciate the motive of this proceeding; it was solely intended, as will be made evident to you by the nature of my papers, to afford you an insight into my character, and a proof of my moderation. I had the honour of writing to Lord Sidmouth to this effect, on the spur of the moment, and of pointing out to him at the same time, how necessary my presence would be at the examination of my papers, which are very easily understood by the most trifling explanation from myself, but which might remain quite unintelligible in my absence. Lord Sidmouth has not honoured me with a reply.

"Your agent however, my Lord, outstepping the bounds of that decency and generous feeling which particularly characterize the individuals of your nation, contrived to add more bitterness to his mission than could well be imagined. After having offended me once, by grossly insulting the person whom I venerate above all others in this world, he heaped upon myself every expression of insult which language affords, for no other reason than that I would not enter into conversation with him. He had received your orders to guard me; but could he suppose that you wished to extend your power so far, as to force me to associate with him? This man had an assistant, of whom I have no reason to complain, although he took a part in inflicting the treatment I experienced; I could, however, occasionally remark a certain reserve in him towards me; and he was besides urged on, and excited by the other.

"Your messenger, my Lord, in signifying to me, in the middle of the night, the order for my removal, left me no other choice than Calais or Ostend. I had hardly recovered from my surprise, when I had to make an immediate decision. A few hours afterwards, I asked, upon further reflection, whether I could not be

allowed to go to America, or to some other part of the Continent. The messenger replied in the negative, and that he had already written to the Government, to communicate the choice I had made; I again urged the subject, but he assured me he was persuaded that all my endeavours would be vain. Could his assertion be true, my Lord? I have a difficulty in believing it; nevertheless it determined my fate.

"I have seen, but have not been allowed to hold in my hands, the order of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, which commands me instantly to quit England. Was this refusal a mere matter of form? Was it a precaution taken? Would this royal act involve any responsibility, or was it feared that I might pride myself upon it? And, in fact, could it be otherwise, when, without laying any crime to my charge, it seemed only to punish an act of the most rare devotedness, that of a servant sacrificing himself with his master when fortune had deserted him.

"My Lord, when your Lordship limited my choice, I selected Ostend in preference to Calais, from pure motives of delicacy suggested to me by tender love of my country; it would have been too painful to me that my countrymen should ever be accused of having persecuted me for a virtuous action. This conduct on their part might perhaps, however, have been at least excusable; on yours, my Lord, my removal from England proceeded from a mere caprice, a severity that nothing can palliate.

"I am now, however, upon the Continent, where I have been thrown by you against my will. Allow me, my Lord to pause here for a moment. I know every circumstance of my life; and happily there is not a corner in Europe where I may not tread with an easy heart, an open countenance, and a firm step. But you, my Lord, who neither have the leisure, nor the will, nor the means of inquiring into my obscure career, if by chance I had been brought into danger through the effects of political dissensions; during the existence of which, all actions that are proscribed are not therefore crimes, if I had fallen a sacrifice, I should

have been called a victim ; but you, my Lord, who would have delivered me up, what name might not have been given to you ? Were you not exposing yourself to have it said of you, ‘ Whilst the English legislature prides itself upon having abolished the trade of black slaves to the islands of America, the British Ministers are trading in white flesh on the continent of Europe !’

“ My Lord, in consequence of the impulse which your Lordship has given to my destinies, I have been seized and conducted across the kingdom of the Netherlands like a malefactor ; and though in a dying state, have been treated without mercy. I have loudly complained of this conduct. On this subject, my Lord, shall I venture to repeat to you some unpleasant truths that were told me ? But why not ? All your countrymen have a right to tell the truth fearlessly to a British Minister, and this is much more incumbent upon a foreigner who has such just motives of complaint and sorrow. Well then, my Lord, when I complained of so revolting an abuse of power against me, I was asked from what part of the world I came, and whence proceeded my astonishment. Some persons said to me, ‘ We have a good King ; do not find fault with him ; he is only the instrument that strikes you ; the tyrannical hand that wields it is farther off.’ Others added, ‘ The English nation had settlements in India a long time since for the benefit of its commerce, and the English Ministers are now establishing some upon the Continent to favour their despotism. When their authority is eluded in England, they protract it upon the Continent. They have placed amongst us their instruments of torture and their executioners, and you will neither escape from their inquisition, nor from the punishments it inflicts.’ Then followed a volley of animadversions and imprecations against England and Englishmen. No doubt, my Lord, that people who are wise, well informed, and free from passions, are not mistaken on this subject, and know with whom alone the blame rests. They can very well distinguish the excellence of the laws from their violation, and from the abuse of power ; they know that true Englishmen abhor and detest all species of tyranny, whether at home or abroad ; that in their island they are the most ardent

defenders, the most zealous guardians, of the great and noble truths which upon our Continent are the objects of our hopes and of our wishes. But the majority of the people do not consider the question so closely; they find it the shortest way to attack a whole nation, and to involve it in one general condemnation.

“ But in short, my Lord, what is, after all, my crime? I demand what can be the motive of so cruel a persecution? and the countries in which that persecution has been continued by the impulse given by you, unite with me in demanding it. Every where the authorities, who have exercised their jurisdiction over my person, have carefully avoided seeing me. The rights which I possessed would have embarrassed them, and they could not have assigned any motive for their acts. They are ignorant of the origin and of the cause of them. From the Cape of Good Hope to the place where I now am, whenever I have asked what sentence had been pronounced, what charge had been preferred against me, I have been answered by the production of an order; and when I have required a motive to be assigned, I have received no answer at all.

“ My Lord, I had the honour of addressing to you from the Cape the following observations, which I now repeat:—What rational objection can be raised against the wish which I expressed to inhabit your country, and to reside near you? Was it feared that I should converse and write upon political subjects? But if I had, what inconvenience could result therefrom to England? Was it feared that I should publish unwelcome complaints respecting your administration? But is there a spot on the Continent where I am forbidden to give vent to those complaints, and where I should not find every body disposed to listen to them? Placed on your own territory, and within your reach, was not that the situation in which you would have had the surest hold upon me, and the greatest authority over me? If I became guilty, had you not your general laws? If I became obnoxious, had you not your private laws; and, moreover, your *Alien Bill*? Lastly, and above all, you had as a pledge of my reserve and moderation, my wish to remain near you. ~~That wish~~

was great, my Lord, and I will tell you why. My residence in England would have enabled me to fulfil the hopes and the destiny of my life, by devoting myself for ever to procure (consistently with your regulations, and through the legal channel allowed by you) some consolations and comforts to him whose loss I deplore. I suppose, my Lord, that you and your colleagues have a sufficient degree of elevation of mind, to fulfil, on this occasion, a political duty, and at the same time, to remain strangers to all motives of personal animosity. Having secured the safe custody of the captive, you cannot grudge the enjoyment of any indulgence that is not a burden to you; you will on the contrary, facilitate the means of his obtaining them. I implore, therefore, to be allowed to undertake the sacred duty of bestowing them; my heart feels the want of fulfilling it: I will do it in good faith. I should have convinced you, my Lord, had I been able to see you, and I do not despair yet; I still solicit again. . .

“I had also considered, my Lord, I must confess, that another chance of my admission existed in the wish which your Lordship must have felt, to take advantage of so favourable an opportunity to learn the truth. I thought, that both your situation and your character would prompt you to do so. And what conflicting evidence would you not thus have obtained to direct you in your noble functions as jury! I should have replied to all your questions with candour and without passion: I should have convinced you quietly, if you had wished it, of all the errors in which the multiplicity and importance of your affairs compel you to remain with respect to us. I have read in three different papers, the *Times*, the *New Times*, and the *London Chronicle*, your answer to Lord Holland, on his motion relative to St. Helena; and I can assure you, that almost every line of it is founded on error.

“God forbid, my Lord, that I should suspect that you do not believe yourself what you state! But your information has been erroneous. Your Lordship has affirmed, for instance, that none of the relations of the Emperor Napoleon had written to him; whereas I myself delivered to him three or four letters, sent by you through Sir Hudson Lowe, from Madame, from the Princess

Borghese, and from his brother Lucien. The fact in itself, my Lord, is unimportant; but the want of exactness on this point, must excite your doubts upon others, and corroborate, in some degree, my assertions upon the remainder. Again, that part of your speech concerning myself, is so garbled, that notwithstanding the unfavourable prejudice which I have a right to entertain against Sir Hudson Lowe, I am persuaded that he will himself exclaim against the incorrectness of the statement. Be that as it may, my Lord, in the heat of opposition, and of conflicting parties, two *true conclusions* are invariably drawn from the same fact, and my conclusion cannot possibly be precisely yours. The public are aware of this, and would therefore have wished to establish theirs upon official documents. But you have thought proper to refuse to produce these documents; will you not have thereby fixed public opinion?

“ My Lord, it is time to sum up after so long a statement.

“ 1.—I demand justice and redress for the abuse of power, the arbitrary and tyrannic act by which Lord Charles Somerset deprived me of my liberty during so long a period, and in direct violation of the laws of his country.

“ 2.—I demand justice and redress for the irregular forms with which all my papers have been seized in the Thames, without an inventory having been made of them, notwithstanding all my remonstrances.

“ 3.—I demand justice and redress for having been sent to the Continent as a captive, in open violation of all principles, and, in consequence of an impulse given, or instructions transmitted, obliged to pass through the Netherlands and adjacent countries as a malefactor.

“ 4.—I demand the examination and prompt restitution of my papers seized on the Thames. Most of them had been respected by Sir Hudson Lowe, and others are absolutely necessary to me in the daily occurrences of my domestic affairs; they contain all my titles of property and fortune; without them I am deprived of every thing.

“ 5.—I demand the restitution of my papers of St. Helena, the



inventory of which, duly certified and signed by Sir Hudson Lowe, is amongst the papers that have been seized in the Thames. My papers of St. Helena consist almost solely of a manuscript, in which are recorded, day by day, during eighteen months, but as yet confusedly, and without being settled, the conversations, the words, and perhaps even the gestures of him who so long guided the destinies of Europe.

"This manuscript, sacred by its nature and its object, was unknown, and was intended to remain unknown to all. I allowed Sir Hudson Lowe to peruse it sufficiently, to be convinced of its inoffensive nature in political matters. On arriving at the Cape, I had the honour to write to the Prince Regent, through the channel of Ministers, as well as to Ministers themselves, to place these precious materials under their special protection; I appealed to them in the name of justice and of history. They are, according to all laws, my sacred property, the property of my children, and of posterity.

"6.—Lastly, and above all, I demand the restoration of the letter which the Emperor Napoleon did me the honour to address to me in my prison, in the Island of St. Helena. A letter entirely foreign to politics, read by the Governor of St. Helena, read by Ministers themselves, if they have thought proper to do so, cannot, consistently with any code of laws, be taken from the person whose property it is, however strong it may be in the tenor of its confidential expressions. This sacred and precious object is the reward of my life, a title for my children, a monument for my family.

"My Lord, as I am by nature and reflection a friend to propriety and moderation, it is to you that I first address the enumeration of my grievances. It is of you alone that I quietly ask their redress.\* But if your Lordship should not think proper to reply, it is then to your tribunal that I shall feel compelled to ap-

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\* This letter was only made public a year after it had been written; the motive which led to its publication has already been seen, and will be further explained in the sequel of these pages.

peal; after that to the tribunal of public opinion; and at last, and above all, to that dread tribunal, which, holding the balance with an equal hand between tyrants and victims, secures in eternity the infallible triumph of all rights and the final chastisement of all injustice.

“ I have the honour to be,” &c.

It was about this time that my petition to the British Parliament also appeared. I had forwarded it from the deserts of Tygerberg to London: but whether it did not reach its address, or whether obstacles occurred to its being brought forward, not a word had been said about it. My return brought the circumstance to light. A member of the House of Commons, struck with the sensation which its publication had just caused, offered to present it himself; and for that purpose a paper was sent to me from England, to which I affixed my signature. But this formality was not sufficient; and this circumstance, added perhaps to other considerations, prevented its being laid before the House. I transcribe it here. It is so nearly allied to my subject that I trust I shall be forgiven for so doing. Besides, that document and others which are found in this volume, have been mutilated, disfigured, and retranslated into French from a foreign text: I am therefore interested in their being restored in all their integrity. Besides, if they were not found here they might be considered as apocryphal, and that is what I wish to avoid.

*Petition to the Parliament of England.*

"A simple individual, a helpless stranger, presumes to raise his voice among you, Representatives of the people of England; but he invokes you in the name of humanity, of justice,—in the name of your glory. Can he speak in vain? must he not be heard? Cast out from St. Helena, forced away from the greatest monument of the vicissitudes of human life that ever existed, I approach you to paint to you his situation, his sufferings. Snatched suddenly and unexpectedly from his presence; deprived of all communication, my words, my ideas, will be all my own: they will have no other source but my heart. Perhaps the lofty spirit of him, who is the object of them, will be irritated by the step which I am taking at this moment; thinking that here below he ought not, he cannot appeal from his sufferings, *but to God alone*. Perhaps he will demand of me who has committed the cares and the interests of his life to me? It matters not: my love for him will have caused my weakness. I feel myself already too far from his heroic influence; my heart can no longer contain the ills of which it has been the witness. They open for themselves a passage; they force me to cry out.

"You have banished in the deserts of the ocean him whose magnanimous confidence brought him, *freely and from choice*, to live among you under the protection of your laws, which he considered all powerful. No doubt you sought in your determination only what you conceived useful; you did not pretend to be just; otherwise it might be demanded of you, who put him in your power? who gave you the right of judging him? upon what ground have you condemned him? whom have you heard in his defence?... But you have made the law... It exists; I respect it. I am not entitled to discuss the principle. I will refrain from all murmur; my protest shall not escape from my heart. You shall hear now only the vexations with which your decisions have been attended, and, no doubt, contrary to your intentions. Representatives of Great Britain, you have said you

only wished to secure the person of the Emperor Napoleon and to ensure his detention.—This object attained, you proposed that every thing should be lavished upon him that could soften and alleviate what you have considered the work, the obligation of policy:—such have been the spirit, the letter of your laws; the expression of your debates; the wishes of your nation; the sentiments of its honour. Well, then! only the severe part of your intentions has reached the illustrious captive upon his frightful rock. Happy, however, still, if they never had been transgressed. But the clouds which hang over his island are less dense, less dark, than the moral and physical pains which are heaped upon his head.

“ Under the vain pretence of apprehensions, purely imaginary, every day has seen new restrictions. His proud spirit has every day brooked new outrages; all exercise has become impossible to him; all visits, all conversations, have been nearly interdicted. Thus privations of every kind, vexations of every nature, unite against him, with the extreme insalubrity of a climate, at once humid and burning, with the dull monotony of a sky without colours or seasons. They contract every instant, in a frightful manner, the circle of his life! He is compelled to keep his chamber. They are inflicting on him his death!

“ Did you then intend all these things? No, undoubtedly; and what motives could justify them? The fear of an escape! Then let them call together military and naval men, competent judges, that they may consult their experience, that they may learn their opinions, and let them cease to surrender such an object to the discretion of a single man, who, taking his terrors for his guide, will occupy his time every day with combating phantoms which his own terrified imagination may create, without reflecting that he cannot destroy all chances, nor reach them all, but by causing death. At Longwood all escape is held impossible, no one there thinks of it. Certainly, every one would wish to accomplish the enterprise at the expense of his life: death would appear sweet for so glorious a result. But how elude the officers who are constantly on the watch? escape the sol-

diers who line the shore ! descend perpendicular rocks ! throw one's self, as it were, to swim in the vast ocean ! clear a first line of boats ! a second of ships of war ! when one is overlooked from all the heights, where one may be surrounded, pursued with signals every instant, and in all directions ! And what mode of embarkation could be hazarded ! There is none within reach of the shore. In what vessel could refuge be sought ! There is not one far or near ; all foreign sail, even those of your own nation, become the prey of your cruisers, if they approach without urgent motives the accursed isle !

“ With such precautions and under such circumstances, is not then the whole island a prison sufficiently secure ? Can it be necessary to fill it incessantly with prisons within prisons ! And if so many difficulties could be overcome, which is impossible, do not the immensity of the seas, and almost every land remain still a new prison ?

“ Now who could induce men in their sound senses to dream of such ridiculous attempts ! Who at Longwood could entertain thoughts so madly desperate ! Besides, the Emperor Napoleon has still the same views, the same desires which he declared when he came with confidence *freely and in good faith* among you : ‘ A retreat and repose under the protection of your genuine laws, or those of America.’ This is what he wished, this is what he wishes still, what he always demands.

“ If then the island of St. Helena, from its nature, be not already a sufficient prison—if it have not the advantage of combining safety with indulgence, then they have deceived your choice and your intentions. For what purpose send us to die miserably in a foreign climate ! For what purpose all your additional expenses ! For what purpose your numerous garrison and its large staff ! For what purpose your naval establishment ! For what purpose the restrictions imposed upon the commerce of that unfortunate isle ! There were so many points in your European dominions where you could have kept us without expense, and where we should have considered ourselves less unfortunate ! If that island, on the contrary, from its nature,

and with the aid of the precautions above stated, presented in itself every thing that human wisdom and prudence can conceive necessary, then would not all aggravating conditions be so many useless vexations, tyrannical and barbarous acts executed against your intention ? For it was not your intention to torture Napoleon—to have him put to death by pricks of pins ; and yet it is but too true that he perishes from incessant wounds of every day, of every hour, of every minute.

“ If you chose to behold in him a simple prisoner, and not the object of the ostracism of kings, a king himself—if you have designed to give him only a common prison, and not to choose for him a place where the asperities of his exile might be mitigated—if it was intended to commit him to a gaoler, and not to an officer of high rank, who by his habits of business and of the world, would know how to unite what he owed to the safety of the captive with the respect and regard which he commands—if it was intended to pursue hatred and vengeance, and all the narrow and vulgar passions—if it was intended only, in fine, to intrust to the climate the death of the illustrious enemy, to charge nature with an act which no one durst execute himself—if all this was intended, I stop, I have nothing more to say ; I have already said only too much.

“ But if, in the sense of your Bill itself, you meant to accompany your political act, as you in fact did, with all the intentions of a great, noble, and honourable nation, I may continue : for you must have meant all the good that circumstances can permit ; interdicted every ill that necessity did not command. You never meant that they should deprive the prisoner of all exercise, by imposing upon him, needlessly, conditions or forms which would have made that recreation a torment.

“ You did not wish that they should prescribe to him the nature of his words, the length of phrases ; you have not wished that they should abridge his original circuit upon the pretence that he did not make a daily use of its extent ; you have not wished that they should force him to confine himself to his chamber, that he might not find himself in the midst of intrench-

ments and pallisadoes, with which they ridiculously surround his garden, &c.

“ Now all these things exist ; they are renewed every day, although they are considered useless, and although a great many of your countrymen condemn and lament them.—You did not wish that, to the great detriment of his health and his comforts, he should be condemned to a bad, small, inconvenient dwelling : while the Government had large and fine houses in the town and country, which would have been much more commodious, more appropriate, and would have saved the sending of the famous palace, or to speak much more correctly, of the immense quantity of rough thick planks, now rotting, not used, upon the shore, because they have found that it would require from seven to eight years to complete the intended edifice ! You cannot have meant that in despite of the sums which you have devoted to them, the necessaries of life, all the means of subsistence, furnished daily at Longwood, should be of the worst offal, while others could have those of the best quality ; you did not mean they should outrage Napoleon so far as to attempt to force him to discuss the little details of his own expenditure, that they should call upon him to produce a surplus where he had none ; that in default of his so doing they should threaten him with insufferable reductions ; that they should force him to exclaim in his indignation, ‘ To let him be quiet ; that he asked nothing ; that when he should be hungry he would go and seat himself among those brave fellows whose tents he perceived at a distance, who would not repulse the oldest soldier in Europe.’—You did not intend that Napoleon should find himself thereby constrained to sell his plate, piece by piece, to supply the deficiency of every month, and that he should find himself reduced to accept what some faithful servants were happy enough to be able to lay at his feet.

O Englishmen ! Is it thus they can treat, in your name, him who has governed Europe, disposed of so many thrones, created so many kings ? Do you not fear the loud complaint of history ? Suppose it should hereafter say, ‘ They deceived him to get possession of his person, and they afterwards grudged him the

means of subsistence.' Will you suffer your sentiments, your character, your honour, to be thus compromised. Is this then your Bill, your intentions? And what connexion have such unbecoming measures with security? You never intended that authority should make a puerile and barbarous study of incessantly recalling by words, regulations and acts, that which it would have been delicate never to mention; by repeating to us every day that we deceived ourselves strangely respecting our position; by rigidly interdicting all unusual respect; in even punishing, as we have been told, those whose habits had inadvertently led them to shew such respect; by restricting the journals furnished to us, to those which might be the most disagreeable; by voluntarily procuring us libels; and by removing or withholding, on the contrary, favourable works; in fine, by imposing upon us the literal form of the declaration by which we were to purchase the slavery and the happiness of attending a revered object; by compelling us to admit into it denominations contrary to our habits and to our laws, thus taking advantage of our own hands to degrade the august object whom we surrounded; and yet we were obliged to do it, because, upon our unanimous refusal, we were threatened with being all torn from our pleasing employment, instantly thrown on board ship, and carried to the Cape of Good Hope.—How can these cruel and tyrannical measures contribute to security?

“It will be hardly believed that Napoleon, on inquiring if he might be allowed to write to the Prince Regent, was answered by authority that his letter would not be suffered to pass, unless it was open; or that it would be opened to ascertain its contents: a proceeding which reason rejects, as equally insulting to the two august persons.

“St. Helena had been chosen for us, we were told, in order that we might be able to enjoy there a certain degree of liberty, and some indulgence.—But we cannot speak to any one; we are forbidden to write to any one whomsoever; we are restricted in our most petty domestic affairs. Ditches and intrenchments surround our dwellings; an authority without control governs



us. And St. Helena was chosen in order to allow us some indulgence! But what prison in England, then, could have been worse for us? Certainly, there is none there at this day that would not seem to us a blessing. . . . We should find ourselves in a Christian land; we should breathe European air. The control of a superior authority would have sheltered us from personal resentments, from momentary irritation, or even the want of judgment.

“ It has been insinuated to the officers of your nation, that they are not to present themselves before him whom they guard; or they have been forbidden to do so. The English themselves, whatever may be the rank and the confidence which they possess, have been forbidden to approach us, and to enter into conversation with us, without formalities which are equivalent to an interdiction, lest we might represent to them the ill usage with which they have overwhelmed us. A precaution useless with respect to security; but which proves the jealous care with which we are prevented from communicating the truth. They have made our efforts on this subject a crime; as if to inform you of the truth, particularly where it interests your honour, your character, was not doing you a service.

“ You certainly never intended to allow such a tyranny over our thoughts and sentiments, as to insinuate to us, or inform us, that if we continued to express ourselves freely in our letters to our relatives, to our friends, we should be torn from the presence of Napoleon, and banished from the Island. Yet it is precisely this circumstance, which has brought about my deportation, by causing me to forward, clandestinely, the very letters which I had, in the first instance, intended for the Governor, and which I would have sent to him, had it not been for his vexatious intimation; an intimation gratuitously tyrannical; since these letters were sent open to Ministers, accompanied, if necessary, by the notes of the local authority, that they might be detained by the Ministers, if they were improper; or even delivered up to the laws, if they were criminal: and since, at all events, they must

have in their eyes the merit of being a further means of obtaining the truth.

“ Certainly, you never intended that those who had obtained the favour of staying with Napoleon, should have found themselves within the penalties of the laws, but excluded from their benefit. This is, however, what has been positively signified to us. You did not intend that they should seize my most secret, and most sacred, papers ; and though I had allowed them to be read cursorily, in order to shew their nature, that they should be taken from me, and that I should not be allowed to put my seal upon them. You never intended that a barbarous sport should be made, in my case, of whatever is most holy and most sacred among you ; that in contempt of my constant claims to be restored to liberty, or brought to trial ; that, in despite of my reiterated offers to submit myself voluntarily, beforehand, to all the privations, even arbitrary, which they might choose to impose upon me in England, they should have kept me a prisoner at St Helena ; that they should have sent me from that Island to the Cape of Good Hope, to bring me back, in the course of time, from the Cape to St. Helena ; carrying me as a prisoner over the vast extent of sea, in a frail vessel, to the great injury of the health of my son, whose life was in danger, to the peril of my own life, which they have afflicted with infirmities, which must accompany me to the tomb,—if, indeed, they do not precipitate me into it before my time.

“ It was not your intention that, on my arrival at the Cape, the Governor should detain me there arbitrarily without examination, without inquiry, without inquest, and cause me to wither there in the pangs of sorrow, of delay, and of despair, upon the ridiculous pretence of sending to a distance of two thousand leagues to inquire of my natural judges, the Ministers to whom I so earnestly solicited to be delivered up, if it would be right to send me to them ; and executing beforehand upon me, by that single fact, a sentence a thousand times more terrible than could have been that of my judges, viz. depriving me during several months

of my liberty, detaining me the whole of that time a captive at the extremity of the earth, separated from my family, from my friends, from my interests, from all my sentiments, painfully wearing out in the desert the few days which remain to me. Surely, under the empire of positive laws, no one could thus tyrannically sport with the liberty, the life, the happiness of individuals.

“ O Englishmen ! if such acts should remain unpunished, your excellent laws would be no more than an empty name. You would carry terror to the extremities of the earth, and there would no longer be either liberty or justice among you.

“ Such are the grievances which I had to make known to you, and which are developed, with others, in a letter hereto annexed,\* which on leaving St. Helena I sent to the Governor, in the hope that it might produce a reformation.

“ Many of these grievances would perhaps have deserved to pass unnoticed by us ; nevertheless, I have done myself the violence of laying them before you. There are none of them so trivial as not to interest your honour. And what could be the causes of such measures ? From whence can come these gradual attacks, these continued aggravations ? How can they have been justified ? We know not.

“ It is not, however, that the ruling power at St. Helena disputes the danger of the health of the captive, the imminent peril of his life, the probable and speedy issue of such a state of things. ‘ It will have been his own wish,’ they content themselves with coldly observing ; ‘ It will be his own fault.’ But do they act discreetly in that ? To confess that Napoleon seeks death, is it not confessing that they have rendered life intolerable to him ? ‘ Moreover,’ continue they, ‘ why refuse to take the necessary exercise, because an officer must accompany him ? What is there in this formality so hateful, so painful ? Why does he insist upon making it a matter of such great importance ?’ But

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\* The grievances of Longwood, addressed to Sir Hudson Lowe, which have been seen above.

who can arrogate to himself the right of judging of the feelings of the illustrious victim? Napoleon debars himself, and he is silent; what would they have more? Besides it has been reported a thousand times, it is neither the colour of the coat nor the difference of nation which creates repugnance; but the nature of the thing itself, and its inevitable effects. If, in such exercise, the benefit of the body were greatly below the sufferings of the mind, would this exercise be an advantage?

"But, they further insinuate, (for there is not one identical scale for all minds and all sentiments) 'Why such particular regard, why such extraordinary cares and attentions? After all, he is a captive, of distinction perhaps, but what is he more? what are his claims?'

"What he is, and what are his claims, I will proceed to state. Napoleon's destiny has been the first, the most astonishing in history. He is the man of renown, of prodigies; the hero of ages. His name is in every mouth; his actions excite every imagination; his career remains without a parallel. When Cæsar meditated the seizure of the sovereign power in his country, Cæsar was already the first man in it, by his birth and his riches; when Alexander undertook to subjugate Asia, Alexander was a king, and the son of a king who had paved the way for his successes; but Napoleon, rushing from the crowd to govern the world, presents himself alone without any other auxiliary than his genius: his first steps in his career are so many miracles; he immediately covers himself with immortal laurels, and reigns from that instant over every mind: the idol of his soldiers, whose glory he has raised to the skies—the hope of his country, which, in her pangs, already feels that he will be her liberator; and this expectation is not disappointed. At her expiring voice, Napoleon, interrupting his mysterious destinies, hastens from the banks of the Nile; traverses the seas, at the risk of his liberty and of his reputation; and lands alone upon the French shore. Every heart leaps at seeing him again. Acclamations, public rejoicing, and triumph attend him into the capital. At his sight the different factions drop, par-

ties blend themselves into one; he rules, and the revolution is chained.

“The mere weight of opinion, the influence of one single man, effected every thing. He had no occasion to fight; not one drop of blood was shed. Nor was this the only time that such a prodigy distinguished his life.

“At his voice, the principles of disorganization vanish; wounds are closed; stains are effaced. Creation seems once more to come out of chaos.

“All the revolutionary follies disappear; grand and noble truths alone remain. Napoleon knows no party; no prejudice attaches to his administration. All opinions, all sects, all talents, form themselves in a group about him; a new order of things commences.

“The nation recovers breath, and blesses him; the people of other states admire him; kings respect him; every one is happy,—every one feels himself once more honoured in being a Frenchman.

“Shortly he is raised to the throne; he becomes Emperor. Every one knows the rest. Every one knows with what lustre, with what power, he dignified his crown. A Sovereign by the choice of the people, consecrated by the head of religion, sanctioned by the hand of victory, what chief of a dynasty ever united titles so powerful, so noble, so pure? Let them be examined.

“All the Sovereigns were allied to him by blood or treaties. All nations acknowledged him. Englishmen, if you alone are an exception, that exception only belongs to your policy; it was only a matter of form. Moreover, you are precisely those who have seen in Napoleon the most sacred, the most indisputable titles. Other powers may perhaps have yielded to necessity. You, you have done nothing but submit to principles, to your conviction, to the truth; for such are your doctrines, that Napoleon, four times elected by a great nation, must necessarily, in spite of your public denials, have found himself a sovereign

in the bottom of your hearts. Look into your consciences! . . . . Now, Napoleon has lost nothing but his throne; a reverse has snatched it from him; success would have fixed it with him for ever. He has seen eleven hundred thousand men march against him. Their Generals, their Sovereigns have every where proclaimed that his person was their sole object. What destiny! . . . . He fell; but he only lost power: all his august attributes remain, and command the respect of mankind.

"A thousand recollections of glory still crown him; misfortune renders him sacred, and, in this state of things, the man of real feeling does not hesitate to consider him more venerable upon his rock than at the head of six hundred thousand men, imposing laws.

"Such are his claims.

"In vain would narrow minds, or perfidious hearts, attempt to charge him, as is the custom, with being the offensive cause of all the evils, of all the troubles, of which we have been the witnesses or the victims. The time of libels is past, the truth must have its turn. Already the clouds of falsehood are clearing up before the sun of futurity. A time will come, when the world will render him complete justice; for passions die with contemporaries; but actions live with posterity, which has no bounds. Then it will be said, that the great actions, the great benefits, came from him; that the evils were those of time and fate.

"Who does not now begin to see, that notwithstanding his vast power, he never had the choice of his destiny or of his means? that constantly armed for his defence, he retarded his destruction only by a constant succession of new prodigies; that in this terrible conflict he was placed under the necessity of subduing every thing in order to survive and save the great national cause. Who among you, Englishmen, dreams of denying, above all, this last truth? Has not *war for life* been often proclaimed among you; and did not your secret allies, in the bottom of their hearts, feel that which your position permitted you to declare aloud? Do you not still boast that you would have carried on the war as long as he maintained himself? Thus every time that he

proposed peace to you, whether his offers were sincere, or whether they were not, it was of little importance to you; your decision was fixed. What course then remained for him, and what reproach could be uttered against him, which you yourselves did not already deserve? And who at this day would still pretend to bring forward the vulgar reproach of his ambition? What then has it had so new, so extraordinary, and above all, so exclusive in his person?

“ Did it stifle sentiment in him, when he said to the illustrious Fox, that in future, Europe would be so united by laws, manners, and blood, that there could be no war in it, but civil war?

“ Was it irresistible, when describing to us all his useless efforts to prevent the rupture of the treaty of Amiens, he concluded that England, notwithstanding all the advantages of to-day, would, however, have gained more by having adhered to it; that all Europe would have gained by it; that he alone, perhaps, his name and his glory, would have lost by it.

“ Was it an over-greedy and common ambition, when at Chatillon he preferred the chance of losing a throne, to the certainty of possessing it at the price of the glory and independence of the nation?

“ Was it incapable of alteration, when he has been heard to say, ‘ I returned from the Isle of Elba quite another man. They did not think it possible, and they were wrong. I do not do things with a bad grace, nor by halves. I would have been at once the monarch of the constitution and of peace’?

“ Was it insatiable, when, after the victory of which he considered himself certain at Waterloo, his first word to the vanquished, was to have been the offer of the treaty of Paris, and a sincere and solid union, which, blending the interests of the two nations, would have insured the empire of the seas to England, and forced the Continent to repose?

“ Was it blind, and without motives, when, after his disaster, passing in review the political consequences which he had so often foreseen, and trembling at the probabilities of the future,

he exclaimed, 'There is no nation, not even the English, who may not one day have to lament their victory at Waterloo'!

"And who can now think of reverting to this charge of ambition? It will not be the people, all astonished as they are, at the conduct of those who have overthrown him. Will it be the Sovereigns? They talked of nothing but justice before the battle, but what use have they made of the victory? Let them cease, then, to repeat these odious charges. They might be an excellent pretence; they would be pitiful justifications. Let them content themselves with having conquered!....

"But I grow warm. Whither do the force of truth, the warmth of sentiment, the impulse of the heart, carry me? I return to my subject.

"Representatives of Great Britain, take this state of things into fresh consideration. Justice, humanity, your honour, your glory, demand it from you. St. Helena is insupportable; Napoleon's stay there is equivalent to certain and premeditated death; you could not wish to make yourselves responsible for this in the eyes of futurity. Napoleon was during twenty years your terrible enemy; he will remind you of *Hannibal* and of *Roman infamy*. . . . . You would not stain with such a spot, the noble pages of your present history. Save your administration the odious, the horrible censure of having trafficked in the blood of a prisoner. History furnishes several examples of it. They all excite our horror; and what an increase of dignity would be reserved for Napoleon's character! For it is easy to predict, when Napoleon shall be no more, when the crime has been accomplished, he will become the man of the people; then he will be only the victim, the martyr of Kings. The inevitable march of the force of things, and of the sentiments of man so wills it. Save our modern annals from such a scandal, and its dangerous consequences. Save royalty from its own blindness. Save the most sacred interests of the great Monarchs, in whose name the victim is under execution. Save royal Majesty in the first of its attributes, the most holy of its characters, its *invio-*



*bility*. If kings themselves lay their hands upon the representatives of God on earth, what restraint, what respect can they intend to oppose to the attempts of the people? There is no prosperity here below, secure from time or from fortune. The circle of vicissitudes envelops all thrones. This cause is the cause of all kings, present and to come. An anointed of the Lord degraded, debased, tortured, immolated, cannot, must not be other than an object of indignation, of horror for history, of terror for kings.....

“ Recall Napoleon among you ; let him come to find repose under the protection of your laws ; that they may enjoy his distinguished homage. Do not deprive them of their noblest triumph. And who will prevent you ?

“ Will it be your first decision ? But in recalling it, you would shew to every eye, that you were only then guided by the force of circumstances, the law of necessity.

“ Will it be your domestic repose ? But the thought of that would be foolish ; the doubt an injury, an outrage to your institutions, to your manners, to your whole population.

“ Will it be the safety of Europe ? But truths of circumstance have their day, and it is only to the vulgar it belongs to perpetuate them, to bring them forward long after they cease to exist. Napoleon, in his omnipotence, might be the terror of Europe ; reduced to his single person, he can no longer be any thing but an object of astonishment and meditation. And, in truth, what could he effect at this day, even with power, against the safety of Russia, that of Austria, of Prussia, or your own ?

“ Finally, can there be any fear of his secret intentions ? But Napoleon now has no wish but for repose. In his own eyes, in his own mouth, his wonderful career has already all the distance of ages. He no longer considers himself of this world ; his destinies are accomplished. A soul of such elevated power is of no value but to lead to celebrity, to glory. And what mortal has accumulated more of these ? Does not the measure seem above the imagination of man ? Have not even his reverses been abundant sources of glory to him ? Does there exist any thing

to be compared with the return from the Isle of Elba? And, more lately, what an apotheosis is his; the regrets of a great nation. A great number among you have traversed our provinces, penetrated to our fire-sides; you know our secrets, our sentiments. If the country was less dear to him than glory, what has he to desire after what he has left behind? His advanced age, his lost health, his disgust at the vicissitudes of life, perhaps that he feels for men, the satiety, above all, of the great objects pursued here below, leave him nothing new or desirable but a tranquil asylum, a happy and sweet repose. He demands them from you, Englishmen, and you owe them to the heroic magnanimity with which he gave you the preference over all his other enemies. Learn, dare, will to be just. Recall him, and you will have secured the only glory which seems to be wanting in your present condition. The admirers, the real friends of your liberties and of your laws expect this of you; they demand it. You have baffled those who delight in boasting all the benefits that flow from your noble constitution.

“ ‘Where, then,’ say their adversaries, with a triumphant irony, ‘is that generosity, that elevation of sentiment, that inflexibility of principle, that public morality, that force of opinion, which you told us distinguished that free people, in some sort superior to the sovereignty itself? Where are the so much vaunted fruits of this classic ground of liberal institutions? All this pompous scaffolding, these imaginary pictures, have then disappeared before the dangers which a single man has created; or rather before the hatred and the vengeance which he has inspired. And what more could that absolute power which we defend, and you decry so much, have done? It would have done less, perhaps, but most assuredly it would not have been able to do more. It would have shewn itself sensible, no doubt, of the noble and magnanimous confidence of its enemy, or if it had so decided on the ground of utility, it would, at least have shewn more energy, candour, and elevation in its injustice. It would not have descended to palliate its wrong in the eyes of the people, by associating its neighbours gratuitously in it. It would have

avoided above all the leaving itself entangled in this distressing dilemma: Either, when you concluded your iniquitous treaty of ostracism, the victim was not in your power, and you had the cowardice to hold out the hand to him that you might seize him; or, you had him already in your power, and you sacrificed your glory, the honour of your country, the sanctity, the majesty of your laws to foreign solicitations.

“Englishmen, your friends are obliged to turn to you for an answer. They await it.

“As for me, in spite of a fatal experience of two years, such is still my confidence in your principles, that I still reckon upon your justice; and I have dared to speak before you, consulting only my own heart, persuaded that it will be in the midst of you that I shall see the defence and the talents worthy of this great and noble cause arise. However you may decide in other respects, my own destinies are fixed. Wherever the victim dwells I wish to go, to devote at his feet the few days that still remain to me;\* and in this tribute of sentiment I shall think I have done nothing but for myself. When I followed him at first, I rather obeyed honour, I followed glory:—but now I bewail, far from him, all the qualities of the heart that attach man to man. How many of your countrymen have approached him! they would all tell you the same thing. Let them be consulted. Englishmen! is this, then, the man who has been portrayed to you? Have you pronounced upon his fate in full possession of the case?

“COUNT DE LAS CASES.”

My solicitations were not confined to the letters which I addressed to the Allied Sovereigns; my efforts were ardently directed towards every point, and every object I could think of. As soon as I

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\* All solicitations in this respect with the English Ministry have proved vain. This demand, frequently repeated, remains without an answer, or has produced only a refusal; as may be particularly seen in one of the letters of this collection.

was restored to liberty, I found myself surrounded by the French exiles at Frankfort, who shared my sentiments, and manifested the tenderest sympathy for me. All, not even excepting those who had nothing to spare, save the widow's mite, offered me all they possessed, not only to provide for the personal wants with which they supposed I had to struggle, but also to promote the sacred object which wholly occupied my mind. At Frankfort I had also the happiness to meet the Countess de Survillers, whose extreme generosity is only one of the many virtues that adorn her. Finally, some eminent merchants of Frankfort, merely from hearing of my adventures, and from motives of pure sympathy, made me the most generous offers; and even diplomatic individuals, of whom there were many at that time in the town, indirectly conveyed to me proofs of their attention. These circumstances enabled me to learn where the different members of the Emperor's family were to be found, and to enter immediately into communication with them, so as to adopt the speediest means of ameliorating the condition of him for whose sake I had resolved to exert every effort, and even to sacrifice my life.

On the other hand, I had laid down the rule of writing regularly, on a certain day, once every month to the Grand Marshal, in order to obtain such information as would enable me to render myself as useful as possible, and sent the letter

open to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, with whom I had, by this means, commenced a correspondence, which I conceived to be best calculated to fulfil the object I had in view. I requested that he would send out regularly to Longwood the newspapers, pamphlets, new publications, and various articles of daily use which I specified, or which I begged he would himself select, to be paid for by me to his order: this he promised to do.

The Emperor's mother, brothers, sisters, and all his relations, though I was not particularly acquainted with any of them except Prince Lucien, immediately answered me in the warmest and most affecting manner. Mine were almost the first authentic tidings they had received from the illustrious victim; and they esteemed themselves happy in finding a channel, by means of which they could transmit to him testimonies of their respect, devotedness, and affection. They wished only to be informed what they had to do. An annual contribution of 150,000 francs was immediately determined on: this sum I conceived to be indispensably necessary for the establishment at Longwood. The amount was divided equally among all, and I already had in my hands the subscriptions of several of the parties, when I had the satisfaction of being enabled to return them, with the request that they might be reserved till a future time, as unforeseen circum-

stances would render it unnecessary to make use of the money for two or three years. The reason was, that there had been found a deposit of several hundred thousand francs belonging to the Emperor, and I esteemed myself happy in being thus early enabled to present to the members of his family a proof of the regularity and reserve with which I acted. But unfortunately I was too precipitate; for the money which had been promised and was to have been furnished by me, was, either through the mistake or embarrassments of the banker, or the negligence of agents, more than a year in being paid. I was very much vexed and disappointed by this circumstance, for the thirteen bills which I had left with the Grand Marshal on my departure from St. Helena, had been quickly paid away, and fresh drafts had been made on my banker, or on other individuals in London, who allowed the bills to be protested, because they had no funds belonging to me, or had received none from any other individual. This occasioned enormous expense, compromised Longwood, and afforded a subject of ridicule to the English ministerial journals.

As soon as I was made acquainted with this unfortunate circumstance, I wrote to London, to offer my personal security for any drafts that might come from Longwood, stating that they should be payable to order at Frankfort. To this object I appropriated in the most advan-

tageous way I could, the sum which I received from Madame Mère, and which was the only one that had not been returned, together with some money which a few friends had lodged in my hands when my own was exhausted; for my four thousand louis had been repaid to me in a way so singular, that I cannot refrain from mentioning it. An individual who stood in a very delicate situation, and who held money belonging to the Emperor, suspecting, though he knew nothing of me, that I might be in some degree of embarrassment, transmitted to me a hundred thousand francs. I could lay no claim whatever to the sum; but this the individual in question doubtless conceived to be his most prudent course, considering the peculiarity of his situation. Thus I found myself repaid without having claimed any debt or given any receipt, and I am not aware that there existed any trace of the debt due to the Emperor, in any account whatever.

Six months had already elapsed; the fine weather was set in; and my health, which had been so greatly impaired by disappointment and vexation, required me to make trial of the waters of Baden. But was I free to depart? The times were so extraordinary, and such a total disregard seemed to be every where manifested for the privileges and the destiny of a Frenchman, that many persons about me very much doubted whether I should be at liberty; and I was myself not without apprehen-

sion, so accustomed was I to see all justice violated in my person. Be this as it may, I was so desirous to act with perfect openness, and to evince my gratitude for the kindness of Baron Wessemsberg, that I determined to acquaint him with my intention of departing, and to ask him whether he considered me under his inspection. However, the Baron in a moment banished all my scruples and fears, by replying, with the frankness and courtesy which characterize him, that in granting me hospitality, there had been no idea of making me a prisoner.

I accordingly repaired to Baden, where I had the honour of being received by the Grand Duke and Duchess, almost secretly it is true, but with those proofs of interest and attention which I might have expected from the adopted children of Napoleon. Their conduct was the more meritorious, since there were among the individuals of their court and confidential officers, certain inveterate enemies of the cause to which I had devoted myself, and who regarded as a kind of political scandal, the great interest which the exalted couple evinced towards me. I did not, however, abuse their kindness; for, amidst the bustle and gaiety which always prevails at Baden, which was this year remarkably thronged, I lived in perfect retirement and solitude, scarcely ever shewing myself, and scrupulously withdrawing from the curiosity so natural to the dissipated and the idle.



But this reserve and circumspection procured for me the honour of several interviews with the august individuals above alluded to, in which I enjoyed the inexpressible satisfaction of appreciating the full extent of their affectionate attachment to him to whom I had devoted myself. One of these interviews, from the singular circumstances under which it took place, would form a good incident for a romance. However, I shall say nothing of it, for many reasons. I am forced to be brief, and must pass rapidly over many circumstances, not only on account of the difficulty I feel in dictating, but also through the fear of exhausting the patience of my readers.

On taking my leave of the worthy Grand Duke, I requested that he would permit me to remain in his States, and I determined on fixing my residence at Manheim. I made choice of this place, because, like Frankfort, it afforded every desirable advantage for the continuance of my correspondence, while it presented none of the inconveniences of the latter city, which, from circumstances of a very delicate nature, I was anxious to avoid.

I seldom went out, and I did not abuse my liberty any more than I had done in the time of the Prussian Commissioner ; but I thought it my duty to receive every one who came to me. I was perfectly aware that I should be likely to encounter enemies in the disguise of friends ; but I also

knew that there were many persons, of all classes, who frequently came from a distance for the purpose of seeing me, and who were guided by sincere sentiment. But could I, for the sake of avoiding one betrayer, run the risk of wounding many honest hearts, who, amidst their sorrow and regret, hoped to obtain from me a few words of satisfaction and consolation? During my stay at Mannheim; it would be difficult to imagine the singular questions that were put to me, and the hints and insinuations of every kind that were thrown out to me. One proposed to execute my most secret, hazardous, and remote commissions; another offered to become my mediator with distinguished and hostile individuals; and a third assured me that he would go in disguise to Parma, and deliver all my packets to the Empress Maria Louisa in person. In short, I know not what plans were suggested to me. I several times received, from natives of different countries, proposals for effecting Napoleon's escape. Some were excited by enthusiasm, some by speculation, and others were, no doubt, contriving snares; for the crime of instigation is now boldly and universally resorted to. Fortunately my guarantee was, that I had nothing to conceal. I possessed no secret, therefore I could only express hopes and wishes in reply to all I heard; and certainly, in the avowed situation in which I stood, the reports that might have been made from my conversation, could convey, no

novel information. Accordingly, nothing of an unpleasant nature occurred. By making choice of Mannheim, which is a retired place, and where I lived as privately as possible, I obviated most of the inconveniences I had met with at Frankfort, which was the resort of schemers and intriguers of every description. I also proved to those who were interested in observing me, that I was a stranger to all secret designs.

The period fixed for the meeting of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, was now approaching ; and I formed the highest hopes from this august assemblage. These hopes were shared by every generous heart ; for who could have imagined that the Sovereigns of Europe would have shewn themselves insensible to the misery of Napoleon, whom each, individually, had so long treated as a friend, a brother, or a son ; particularly when they should receive a correct and faithful account of the situation in which he was placed ? I had made every necessary preparation ; being determined that they should be assailed by entreaties, and surrounded by information. I wrote to Maria Louisa ; and I was charged to present to the Sovereigns a letter from Madame Mère ; all the other relations of the Emperor having undertaken to act for themselves. I carefully collected for each of the Sovereigns, all the authentic documents existing, and drew up a note on the subject, enclosed in a letter addressed to *themselves*. I did not even neglect

Lord Castlereagh ; to whom I thought it requisite to make the communication in his quality of representative of the King of England. I shall insert these documents, hoping that the reader will pardon the many repetitions that occur in them. They all relate to one and the same subject ; this subject is reduced to its simplest expression ; the circle is limited ; and a recurrence to the same topic is unavoidable.

*To the Empress Maria Louisa.*

“MADAME,—On my return from the place where your husband is perishing, what a tale of misery could I not unfold to you ! But you are his wife, the mother of his son ; what, then, can I say that will appeal to you more forcibly than the feelings that must naturally arise in your heart !

“ I think it my duty to inform your Majesty that I intend, at the approaching assemblage of the Allied Sovereigns, to lay at their feet my humble supplications for a mitigation of the misery and cruel sufferings which are inflicted in their name, and which cannot be adequately conceived, except by a servant so devoted as I am, or a relative so near as yourself.

“ But, Madame, what can be my claims, when compared with the sacred and all-powerful rights of your Majesty, which are held in veneration all over the world.

“ Deign then, Madame, to exercise those rights ; and posterity, history, which consecrate crowns, will encircle your brow with a diadem, as imperishable as your elevation of character, which subdues, and your gentle virtues, which delight the heart.\*

“ I am, &c.

“ COUNT LAS CASES.”

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\* This letter was put into the post at Vienna. I know not whether it ever reached its destination ; but most probably it did not.

*Madame Mère to the Allied Sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle.*

"SIRES,—A mother, afflicted beyond all expression, has long cherished the hope that the meeting of your Imperial and Royal Majesties will afford some alleviation of her distress.

"The prolonged captivity of the Emperor Napoleon, gives occasion for appealing to you. It is impossible but that your magnanimity, your power, and the recollection of past events, should induce your Imperial and Royal Majesties to interest yourselves for the deliverance of a Prince, who has had so great a share in your regard, and even in your friendship.

"Would you suffer to perish, in miserable exile, a Sovereign, who, relying on the magnanimity of his enemy, threw himself into his power? My son might have demanded an asylum from the Emperor, his father-in-law; he might have consigned himself to the generosity of the Emperor Alexander, of whom he was once the friend; he might have taken refuge with his Prussian Majesty, who, in that case, would, no doubt, have recollected his old alliance. Should England punish him for the confidence which he reposed in her?

"The Emperor Napoleon is no longer to be feared. He is infirm. And even if he were in the full enjoyment of health, and had the means which Providence once placed in his hands, he abhors civil war.

"Sires, I am a mother, and my son's life is dearer to me than my own. Pardon my grief, which prompts me to take the liberty of addressing this letter to your Imperial and Royal Majesties.

"Do not render unavailing the entreaties of a mother, who thus appeals against the long series of cruelties that has been exercised towards her son.

"In the name of Him, who is in essence goodness, and of whom your Imperial and Royal Majesties are the image, I entreat that you will interest yourselves to put a period to my son's misery, and to restore him to liberty. For this I implore God, and I implore you who are his Lieutenants on earth.

"Reasons of state have their limits; and posterity, which gives immortality, adores, above all things, the generosity of conquerors.

"I am, &c.

"MADAME MERE."

This letter remained unanswered. Other steps were taken in favour of Napoleon, by different members of his family; but they were not made known in a way sufficiently authentic to authorize my mentioning them here.

*Note addressed to the Allied Sovereigns, at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, October 1818.*

"SIRRS,—Royal Majesty has no judges on earth. But since sovereigns themselves, stripping it of its most sacred attribute, have subjected it to their tribunal, I come with respectful confidence to appeal to them in favour of a monarch whom they long recognised; but who is now deposed by them, a captive in their hands, and presenting to the world the grandest and most terrible vicissitude that was ever witnessed. Who shall deem himself secure, if even inviolability be violated?

"Faithful to his dignity, superior to misfortune, he looks forward to death as the only termination of his misery. But I who have been unexpectedly torn from the fatal rock, where I rendered him every attention in my power, wish now to devote to him the remainder of a feeble life, and to endeavour to assuage the misery which I am no longer permitted to share.

"I have taken upon myself the sacred mission in which I am now engaged. I have been prompted to do so by my tender devotedness to the person of the Emperor, by my private affection for him who was my Sovereign.

"I am here a stranger to every political question. I have no other impulse, no other guide, than that sacred morality which is

alike respected by kings and subjects. It constitutes my strength, my right, and my excuse.

“ Napoleon on his rock is a prey to torments and vexations of every kind ; he is the victim of the ill treatment of men, and the insalubrity of climate. These facts are now notorious to all, and are sufficiently proved by authentic documents, transmitted from the place itself, several of which I now presume to submit to the eyes of your Majesties.

“ If the law of war, if the law of nations, have been transgressed for the peace of the world, as it is said, the law of humanity at least cannot be extinct.

“ For the last three years war has every where been succeeded by peace ; passions are calmed ; nations and individuals are reconciled ; the hostility of governments and parties is disarmed ; the common law of nations has resumed its sway ; one man alone is excluded from these benefits. He alone is still without the pale of human law. He is exiled to a barren rock, exposed to an unhealthy climate, doomed to the misery of a lingering death, and is the daily victim of hatred and insult. When will there be an end to this extraordinary persecution ? If he be doomed to live, this extraordinary treatment is too cruel ! And surely it is still more barbarous if he be doomed to die ! What is his crime ? By whom has he been tried ? By what tribunal ? Who are his judges ? Where is their right to pronounce sentence on him ? Will it be said that the only guarantee, the only security against him, are imprisonment, chains, and death ? Will it be said that his acts, his promises, and his oaths are not to be trusted ? Will his return from the isle of Elba be mentioned as an instance of his bad faith ? But at Elba he was a Sovereign ; engagements had been entered into with him, and had not been kept ! Now, by quitting the Continent, he has resigned all sovereignty, and declared his political career to be at an end. The case is now entirely altered. If the sacrifice of his life can alone appease hatred, and put a period to alarm, *why not inflict death openly ?* (these are his own words ;) *a speedy death, though not more just, would have been more humane, and less odious ; it would be a*

*favour.* This is what he has himself repeatedly said and written. Who can deny the justice of the remark ?

“What sufficient motives can still be maintained in justification of such intolerable treatment ?

“Is it wished to punish his past invasions ? But the invaded countries have forgotten their resentment in the triumph of victory, and they are now silent. Is it wished to make reprisals ? But Napoleon was a conqueror, and did he act thus ? What was his conduct at Austerlitz, at the bivouac of Moravia, at Vienna, at Tilsit, at the conferences of Dresden ? Let him be viewed even in that circumstance in which history will have most difficulty in defending him. Charles IV. when a captive in the hands of Napoleon, had his choice of residing either in Compeigne, Marseilles, or Rome, always maintaining the dignity of a king. Ferdinand, at Valencey, was surrounded by all the attention and respect he could wish. A prince who disputed the throne with the Emperor fell into his hands. What use did Napoleon make of his victory ? The immediate release of the prisoner attested his magnanimity ; and history will compare this act with the indignities that are heaped upon the Emperor.

“Is it intended to renew for Napoleon the ostracism of the ancients ? But the ancients, if they banished from among them the talents which they had reason to fear, did not sacrifice the victim. They did not transport him to another hemisphere, to a desert rock, and a burning climate. They did not, at least, render Nature chargeable with a crime, which, in the present case, it would seem, human hands dare not execute.

“Finally, is it feared that even the Emperor’s name would have too powerful an influence in Europe ? May not his enemies defeat their own ends ? Persecution always excites interest, always moves the great mass of the people, who are invariably generous. If it be wished to create partizans, it is sufficient to make martyrs ! Where, then, is the necessity for these extraordinary and singular measures ? Why thus violate at once the code of nations, the code of sovereigns, and the code of private men ?

“Among civilized nations fury is disarmed before a fallen



enemy, who is respected even among savages, particularly when he trusts to good faith.

“Why then persist in opposing the demands of humanity, justice, religion, morality, policy, and all the laws of civilization? Why not rather yield to the dictates of generosity, glory and true interest? The examples of kings doomed to misery, and death have always been condemned by history: they are recollected with horror by subjects, and with dread by sovereigns.

“Since my removal from St. Helena, I do not personally know what changes may have taken place in the treatment of the Emperor Napoleon; but before my departure it was intolerable, both as regarded his personal dignity, and his moral and physical existence. Have those modifications at length been made which his servants so long and so vainly solicited? But the deadly influence of the climate, and all the horrors of the place of banishment cannot be changed. These circumstances in themselves suffice to poison all the sources of life. There is no dungeon in Europe that would not be preferable to Longwood, and there is no human being, whatever might be his vigour of body and strength of mind, who could, under such circumstances, long resist the effects of so terrible a prison.

“The victim is already seized with a disease that must infallibly, in a very short time, hurry him to his grave. The faculty have candidly pronounced this opinion, and, in the anguish of my heart, I presume to report it to your Majesties, trusting that your humanity and high wisdom will suggest a remedy.

“Surely I cannot be accused of a want of respect and devotedness to sovereignty. The testimonies which my life presents are my guarantee for now presuming to address your Majesties; as the consciousness of your interests, dignity, and glory, is the guarantee of my hopes and wishes.

“COUNT LAS CASES.”

*Letter to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, enclosing the above Note. (Addressed to the Emperor himself.)*

"SIRE,—On the 10th of February last, I presumed to lay at your Majesty's feet, the wishes and entreaties of a faithful servant, in favour of his master.

"I hope your Majesty will forgive my perseverance, which may, perhaps, have the appearance of importunity. I now venture to lay before you another note, in favour of him who was your brother, and whom you made your son. I take the liberty of accompanying this note with some authentic documents.

"Sire, my hope and my apology rest on the many excellent virtues for which your Majesty is distinguished. Europe acknowledges and proclaims you to be the most sincere, moral, humane, and religious of men; and yet it is in your name that the tortures of a lingering death are inflicted on him, to whom you gave the hand of your beloved daughter; whom your own choice and religion have made your son.

"Ah, Sire! tremble lest his blood-stained coat should be presented to you! . . . And when the day of eternal judgment shall arrive, when the Supreme Judge of men and things, pronouncing his terrible decrees, shall ask, What have you done with your son? Why did you separate the husband from the wife? How durst you disunite those who had been joined and blessed in my name? I might award victory to whom I pleased; but none could take advantage of that victory to abuse my holy laws, without incurring my anger!

"But, Sire, I say no more: perhaps I have already gone too far. I crave your Majesty's forgiveness. These are the sentiments by which I am powerfully excited;—these are the complaints that are torn from me by the murder of my master, which has been perpetrating before my eyes. Sire, on my knees, I implore your interference, to prevent the crime of homicide. Be not deaf to my entreaties! I am, &c.\*

"COUNT LAS CASES."

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\* A similar letter was addressed to the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia.

*Letter to Lord Castlereagh, with a Copy of the Note addressed to the Allied Sovereigns.*

"MY LORD,—I have the honour to present to your Lordship a copy of a note, which I took the liberty of addressing to the Allied Sovereigns.

"I am induced to transmit this note to you, my Lord, on account of my profound respect for the august individual whom you represent, and the esteem I entertain for your Lordship's personal talents.

"Whatever may be your opinions, my Lord, respecting this note, perhaps even your objections to it, I am convinced your Lordship has too much generosity to condemn, wholly and without reserve, a servant, who is resolved, until the latest moment of his existence, to exert every effort for the relief and consolation of his Sovereign.

"My Lord, how great has been your influence on the destiny of that Sovereign! How great may it yet be! Why cannot my voice reach your Lordship's ear? In the anguish of my tedious solitude, I have frequently sought to discover the great motives which might have dictated your harsh and cruel determination. My mind dwells only on the interest of your country, the rigorous law of necessity, the conviction of the character and disposition of him, at whom you aim the blow; and finally, the glory and responsibility of your ministerial situation. Has your Lordship been able to combine together the whole of the contradictory circumstances? Have you exhausted every source of information? How I regret that the impaired state of my health and faculties does not permit me adequately to express my feelings and thoughts! They would perhaps make an impression on you, my Lord: perhaps many facts that I could relate, would excite your astonishment and serious consideration.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"COUNT LAS CASES."

The period of the meeting of the Congress having arrived, I went to Frankfort, and happened to reach that place on the very day on which the Emperor Alexander made his entry. This was no doubt a very favourable opportunity to solicit the favour of being presented to that Sovereign; and his well known affability, the facility with which he grants admission into his presence, and perhaps also the peculiar circumstances relating to me, were so many encouragements to the hopes of easily obtaining an audience, and I was consequently strongly advised by every body to attempt it. It was the surest way, they said, to accomplish the object I had in view, and I was much blamed for refusing to make the trial. But I had maturely weighed within my own breast the advantages and disadvantages of such a step, and I was far from sharing the general opinion as to the probability of its result. To what, had I said to myself, could such a high favour lead me? Could I expect to touch the heart of this Sovereign by my eloquence? And if my words had produced some effect upon him as a man, was not the final decision to proceed from the concurrence of many others? And was I certain in an interview of so little duration, and of so much embarrassment, to speak with as much method and precision as I could write? Was it right for me to deliver to him before the proper time had arrived, authentic documents, which I intended only for the Sove-

reigns assembled, as if it were an ordinary petition? And if the Emperor Alexander had happened to express himself in my presence respecting the Emperor Napoleon, in terms which I could not but have contradicted, as it was but too probable that he would express himself, might it not turn out that I had irritated and indisposed him instead of conciliating him? This latter consideration had chiefly led to my determination not to seek for an audience, which presented so many objections, and only offered one single advantage, and that one that was personal to me, viz., the signal favour of seeing the first of monarchs, and of conversing with him of whom Napoleon had said on his rock: "If I die here, he will be my heir in Europe."

Besides, the Emperor Alexander knew that I was at Frankfort. I was told that he had mentioned it in one of his circles, and I was almost certain that he had been spoken to about me. The circumstance from which I obtained this information is singular enough to be mentioned here. My room at the hotel where I had alighted happened to be next to that of one of his generals, who possessed his intimate confidence, and who was admitted into his presence at all times. The second or third evening after my arrival, the master of the hotel came into my room to inform me that the General was ready to receive me, and that he would have much pleasure in granting me the in-

terview which I had asked for. In the first moment of surprise, my immediate answer was to bid him go and say that it was a mistake; but suddenly reflecting that this was, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance, brought about by the intervention of Providence, I ran after the man who was already delivering his message, and explained myself from the door of the apartment, that there was probably some error, since I had not the honour of asking such a favour; upon which the General ran towards me as if to detain me, and dismissing his Aide-de-camp, said to me with an air of affability and politeness, that whether it was through mistake or not, he should be happy to avail himself of this opportunity to become acquainted, and have some conversation with me. And we then had a very long conversation together, and, as it will be easily believed, wholly relating to St. Helena.

I had only come to Frankfort to deposit, in due form, all my documents in the respective legations; and that done, I returned immediately to Manheim, in order to escape from the bustle and from the intrigues of Frankfort. Several persons came thither and offered to serve me at the Congress, assuring me that their services might be of very great importance, and proposing to become very zealous agents in my affair. For this assistance, I should of course have been obliged to pay very largely, and it has been seen that I had scarcely wherewith to supply the first wants of him for the uncertain

interests of whom large sums were demanded of me. During the sitting of the Congress, and whilst I was waiting in the hope of a favourable decision from the Sovereigns, I was destined to receive, even in my solitude at Manheim, fresh proofs of the perverseness of Sir Hudson Lowe, and of the ill treatment which he continued to inflict upon his victims. An unfortunate gunner of an East India-man found me out at Manheim, and about the same time I received a large packet from General Bertrand. The history of the gunner and of all the vexations to which he was exposed from the Governor and his confidants, for having been the bearer of a bust of young Napoleon, from which he hoped to derive some advantage, by offering it at Longwood, is detailed at some length in Mr. O'Meara's work. This bust, which the Governor had at first intended to throw into the sea, and the existence of which he afterwards attempted to conceal by taking possession of it, under pretence of making a present of it to Napoleon himself, was, however, at last sent to Longwood, in consequence of the expression of public indignation; and Count Bertrand sent to the gunner, as well for the value of the bust as to indemnify him for all the vexations and losses which it had occasioned to him, one of the bills which I left with him at my departure, amounting to 300*l*. Count Bertrand on sending the bill to the gunner, requested him to acknowledge the receipt of it; but the poor fellow,

so far from being enabled to acknowledge the receipt of the bill, had not even heard of Count Bertrand's letter, and had been obliged to pursue his voyage to India, after having delivered the bust, with the following verbal information given to him by Sir Hudson Lowe : " That the people of Longwood had destined some gratuity to him, and that " he would hear of it in the course of time." On his return from India, the unfortunate gunner was not allowed to go on shore during the whole time the ship stayed at St. Helena, and he was merely told once more, that what had been mentioned to him concerning his interests was at the Admiralty in London. When he reached England, he at last, upon inquiry, got the bill; and it was the first time he had heard of it; but upwards of eighteen months had elapsed, the persons on whom it was drawn no longer had the necessary funds, and he was obliged to leave London with the melancholy persuasion that he had lost both his bust and his money. This gunner was an inhabitant of Dalmatia, and was going through Germany on his return home, by way of Trieste, when he heard, by the greatest chance in the world, at Frankfort, that he should find at Manheim, the drawer of the bill which he held; he therefore came to me, and his joy was as lively as his imprecations against Sir Hudson Lowe were abundant, on receiving that sum which, as he said, was a little fortune for him, and would render him happy for the remainder of his life.



The large packet which I received from the Grand Marshal, consisted of a long letter from him, written by order of the Emperor, and of sundry authentic documents which had arrived out of the regular channel. But to my great surprise, the very day when I received that letter, I read its contents in the Netherland newspapers, as extracted and retranslated from the English papers. Guessing what had been the intentions of Longwood, I nevertheless sent an official copy of that letter to Lord Liverpool, as will be seen presently. I insert here all those documents, because Count Bertrand's letter, giving a rather detailed account of the ill treatment which the Emperor experienced since the moment I had left him, lays before the reader a further period of eighteen months of the history of Longwood. Some of these documents, besides, have postscripts in Napoleon's own handwriting, and are too remarkable to be left unnoticed.

*Letter of Count Las Cases to Lord Liverpool.*

"MY LORD,—I have this instant received a long letter from Count Bertrand; and at the same moment, to my great surprise, have seen that letter printed in the *Vrai Liberal*, of Brussels, retranslated from the *Morning Chronicle* of London.

"To inform your Lordship how that has happened, is beyond my power; but I can assure you, with great truth, that it is without my participation, and that I sincerely regret the circumstance. I can only explain it, by supposing that one of your countrymen only consented to take charge of the packet from Longwood, upon

condition of receiving it open, and being assured that it concerned the honour of his country; and that on his arrival in London, he communicated its contents to the public, and forwarded it to me at the same time. Things would not have been so, my Lord, if, agreeably to my continued solicitations, I had obtained permission to reside in England. Persuaded as I am, and as Count Bertrand seems to suspect, that the atrocious vexations, and the indignities, which are daily inflicted upon Longwood, may be unknown to the Administration, it would have been to you, my Lord, who are at the head of that Administration, and to you alone, that I should immediately have applied to inform you of such unheard-of grievances; thus furnishing you the means, and leaving to you the merit of redressing them.

“I entreat your Lordship to believe that it would have been only after I had in vain exhausted every step required by decorum, after I had, in vain, applied, in the order of their rank, to the different authorities, that I should have adopted the extreme measure of addressing myself at last to public opinion, which will only be appealed to and pronounce in the last instance. I gave a proof of this disposition, my Lord, when, after eight months of absolute silence on the part of Lord Bathurst, to the statement which I addressed to his Lordship, of various grievances, of which I had the honour of asking redress at his hands, and which I should, at least, have been justified in publishing, I did not however do so, until some ill-timed observations of one of your Members of the House of Commons, rendered it a matter of positive necessity. I gave a proof of it, my Lord, at the period of the earnest entreaties, which my heart prompted me to make at Aix-la-Chapelle, when I carefully transmitted to Lord Castlereagh himself, a copy of the solicitations and complaints which I respectfully laid at the feet of the Allied Sovereigns. Lastly, my Lord, it is to give, as much as lies in my power, an additional proof of that disposition, that I hastily cause a copy to be made of the letter of Count Bertrand, in order that your Lordship may possess direct and authentic knowledge of that document, and lay it before his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

"A prey to bodily sufferings, caused by the insalubrious climate of St. Helena, as well as the moral sufferings by which my separation has been aggravated; the deplorable state of my health is such, that every kind of application is forbidden to me by the faculty. I cannot, therefore, add any thing to the letter, of which I have the honour of addressing you a copy. Besides, what commentary could equal the bare recital of the facts which it contains?

"I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, my Lord, &c.

"P. S.—After having addressed your Lordship on the subject of interests of so high and sacred an importance, may I be allowed to take advantage of the opportunity thus naturally afforded, to descend to the consideration of objects that are merely personal to me?

"Am I not to expect any redress, or to obtain any answer concerning the numerous grievances of which I have complained? Am I, above all, to continue to be deprived of the papers which have now been detained at St. Helena two years, notwithstanding the many protestations which I made to Sir Hudson Lowe himself; notwithstanding the letter which I had the honour of addressing to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on that subject, from the Cape of Good Hope; the letter which I wrote to one of your colleagues from the same place, and on the same subject; and, lastly, notwithstanding the letter which I addressed to Lord Bathurst from Frankfort? Can this obstinate and absolute silence, to demands so just and so often reiterated, be intended as a formal denial of justice? I cannot believe it, my Lord. I know the power and superiority of your laws, and the respect which every Englishman is bound to shew to them, whatever his rank or situation in life may be; and I must therefore suppose that the fault arises with me, who, not knowing how to act, transgress, in all probability, the established rules and formalities. But, in that case, my Lord, would it not be proper, just, and considerate, to inform me of those rules, or even to sup-

ply the non-observance of them?—My Lord, I demand that favour of your generosity. Those papers, which I allowed Sir Hudson Lowe to peruse at the time, are, from their nature, entirely foreign to the object of the custody of your prisoner; they cannot be of any importance to you in that point of view; and to me, they are dear and invaluable beyond all expression."

*Letter from Count Bertrand to Count de Las Cases.*

"MY DEAR LAS CASES,—I received, on the 7th of June, the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on the 15th of January last; and I have since then received, on the 13th of this month, your letters of 15th February, 15th March, and 15th April;\* the contents of which I have communicated to the Emperor, and which have determined him to desire me to write to you. I received four months ago, a box of books and pamphlets, addressed to me by Mr. Goulburn; and since then, a very obliging offer to send a picture, which was in the room at St. Cloud, on the subject of little Napoleon's christening. Mr. Henry Goulburn had been kind enough to bargain with the owner of the picture for its purchase, and to get the price reduced to half the original demand. It has not, however, been thought proper to answer that offer, because it has seemed to form so strange a contrast with what takes place here, that it has been looked upon as a measure connected with parliamentary discussions, something like those relative to the wooden house. I have been much struck by the polite behaviour observed towards you, and by all you tell me in your last letter.† . . . Can it be, that the horrible vexations that we are made to experience, are not sanctioned by the English Government, and that the Emperor is dying here a victim of the individual hatred of the Governor? Governments and Princes may be so easily deceived, that I write this letter under strong feelings of doubt on the subject.

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\* See those letters in the sequel of these pages.

† Experience seems to have proved too clearly that there existed more knowledge of mankind at Longwood than in the correspondent of Frankfort.

“ Things are much altered since your departure in 1817. And in this year, 1818, the vexations to which the Emperor has been exposed, are such, that they must be considered as an attempt against his life. You will judge by the detail. You must have read in the papers of March, some observations upon the speech of Lord Bathurst. But things have grown considerably worse since then ; and the hatred of the Governor of this Island has known no bounds.

“ When you left us, the Emperor had renounced riding, in order to avoid the snares laid for him, and the affronts intended for him, by causing him to be insulted by the sentries. He has since been obliged to give up walking, in order to avoid the same inconveniences. During the months of March and April, the Emperor went out sometimes to call upon my wife, and sometimes he would sit upon a certain bench, which you know, about fifty paces from the house, and where he would stop half an hour or an hour. But means have been found to prevent him from doing that, and to oblige him to confine himself strictly to the house. They knew that this was not very difficult. A soldier of the 66th regiment was placed as gardener, and a serjeant had been stationed at my house. Both were very useful, either in rooting out weeds, which might poison the air, for no garden can exist in such a situation ; or in repairing the house, which is in a ruinous state, and admits water whenever it rains. That arrangement appears very rational ; but the Governor had invested these two soldiers with a right to stop whomsoever they thought proper, even at the doors and under the very windows of the Emperor. From that moment he has not stirred out of the house, and one hundred days have now elapsed since he has even put his head outside of a window.

“ This climate, this absolute want of exercise, added to the badness of the habitation, have affected his health to that degree that you would not recognise him. Since the end of September, 1817, he has had the first symptoms of a chronic hepatitis, which, as you know, is mortal in this country. He had to attend on him, the worthy O'Meara, in whom, you know, he has confi-

dence; but, in the month of April, at the moment when he was most in want of his cares, Sir Hudson Lowe obliged him to tender his resignation, wishing to force the Emperor to have Baxter, whom you also know. The Emperor has refused to see any doctor; from the 10th April to the 10th May, he had none. At last, the Russian and Austrian Commissioners, indignant at this treatment, informed the Governor, that if the Emperor were to die under these circumstances, they themselves should not know what to say, should an opinion prevail in Europe that he had been murdered. This seems to have determined the Governor to reinstate the Doctor; but he has subjected him to every species of ill treatment. He attempted to get him expelled from the mess of the 66th regiment; and, as these brave officers refused to share in so arbitrary an act, he himself caused an order to be given to the Doctor, through the Colonel, to cease to dine with the officers of the 66th. He has written to London, and it is probable that O'Meara will be sent away. The Emperor will not, however, receive any other doctor; and if the Prince Regent, or Lord Liverpool, do not take cognizance of the fact, he will die here of his disease, deprived of even the assistance of his physician. The Emperor has, however, been very ill for the last two months. He rises at eleven o'clock in the morning, and goes to bed again at two o'clock p. m. A few days ago, he experienced a very violent crisis, produced by the mercury which Dr. O'Meara administered to him for a pain in the liver. Dr. O'Meara was alarmed at his responsibility, and proposed to me to send for Mr. Baxter and the surgeon of the *Conqueror*; they are the two first medical men here. You know the dislike which the Emperor had to Mr. Baxter, founded upon his having been formerly Staff-surgeon of the Italian division commanded by Sir Hudson Lowe. That dislike has much increased since, in consequence of his having lent himself, from October, 1817, to March, 1818, to the production of bulletins filled with falsehoods, and which have deceived his Government and all Europe. But the Emperor did not see any inconvenience in O'Meara's calling in Mr. Stokoe, although he did not much like it; and that gentleman

consequently came to Longwood at three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, but would not go into the Emperor's apartment, fearing lest he should compromise his responsibility, and lose a situation obtained after forty years' service. That appeared to me so extraordinary, that I would not believe it. I therefore spoke to him, and he expressed his regret at not being able to comply with our wishes; for he is a very respectable man. His refusal is, however, easily explained; it proceeded from a hint that had been given to him, in the same manner as had been done to Cole, the banker, whom you know. Having some money matters to settle with him, I sent for him; but, on arriving at my house, he declared that he could not speak to me but in presence of the officer on duty, because he should be ruined if he did. Of course I refused. The same thing happened, a few days since, with a Mr. Fowler, arrived from England, with whom I had an account to settle, of a few hundred pounds, for clothes ordered in London. It is true that you are not acquainted with the situation in which we are now placed, and which cannot be compared to what it was in your time. It was even then sufficiently unpleasant; and knowing the Emperor as you do, you ought to have strenuously opposed the idea of any member of his family coming out here. The spectacle of the humiliations, the vexations, and the hatred to which he is exposed, would be altogether unbearable for him, if his mother or any of his brothers were to share in it. Even to Count Montholon and myself, who are now the only two with him, he has often said that he wished us to quit St. Helena, to free ourselves from such a treatment, and to leave him alone; and that his agony would be less bitter, if he did not see us share in it. You know that the officers had long since discontinued to come to my house; but when we met them on the road, they would very politely stop and speak to my wife: this has now been forbidden to them, not in writing, it is true, but by hints; so that it has often happened that when they have seen us at a distance, they have gone out of the road.

" Things have come to such a pass, that our dirty linen remains several days, to be examined by the Captain on duty, and

sometimes by the Staff; a most indecent proceeding, and most dishonourable for them, but the object of which is to degrade and insult us.

“ In the month of June 1816, a store-ship brought out a marble bust of young Napoleon: Sir Hudson Lowe ordered the bust to be thrown into the sea. This he has since denied; but we have the fact judicially attested; for the act disgusted Lady Malcolm, who was still at St. Helena, as well as all the captains of store-ships that were on the island.

“ Since that time, in February last, the *Cambridge* store-ship brought out two prints of young Napoleon, which had been bought in London: Sir Hudson Lowe purchased them under pretence of presenting them to the Father, and when the officers heard, a month afterwards, that it was, on the contrary, to keep them from him, they could not contain their indignation that an Englishman should have been guilty of such conduct.

“ The British Government cannot be ignorant of all these proceedings. If what the Emperor said here to Lord Amherst has been repeated in London, if Captain Poppleton, whom you know, and who was the officer on duty during two years, has been questioned, if Colonel Nichols of the 66th regiment, and Colonel Fehrzen of the 53d regiment have been questioned, as well as many others, it must be known to what unworthy treatment we are exposed here.

“ If there be in Europe some enemies of the Emperor, who would have approved the conduct of the British Government if they had taken away Napoleon's life, openly and publicly, on board of the *Bellerophon*, there is not one who will not some day cover with imprecations and opprobrium and disown those who adopt such cowardly means to attain that end.

“ How are we to reconcile all this with what you write to me? perhaps by the supposition of a correspondence filled with falsehoods, and artfully managed. However, we on our side have for the last two years complained openly and loudly; and the criminal conduct pursued here must be known in London.

“ You will be surprised to hear me speak of the French,



Austrian, and Russian Commissioners who are here. We never saw them during the time you were with us, and to this day they have not yet seen the Emperor, nor called upon us. But we have frequently met them on the roads within our limits, which is a way of seeing each other sufficiently ridiculous. Though the Emperor does not acknowledge them as Commissioners, he has never refused to receive them as strangers.

“ With respect to the Governor, the Emperor has not seen him since the month of April, 1816: you are aware of the reasons which induced him not to receive him, after the insults which the Governor had offered to him.

“ This being the case, if Sir Hudson Lowe seeks to be revenged; such a proceeding, though inconsistent with a generous mind, can be easily explained. But how can Government have continued, during two years, to repose its confidence in a man who has so strangely abused it ?

“ I therefore earnestly request you, in the Emperor's name, to inform his family and relations of the situation in which he is placed; and peremptorily to require that none of them will encrease his sufferings by coming to share in them.

“ You tell us that the English Government has subscribed for us to the Morning Chronicle; but the same thing happens with this paper as with the Times; it is sent to us after those numbers which it is thought proper to conceal from us have been previously withdrawn. Thus we have had some numbers of February and some of March, but all those that it was their pleasure to withdraw have never been sent to us. Not to have a regular series of a newspaper is worse than to have none.

“ How could any book be sent to us? since as soon as a store-ship comes out, the Governor immediately purchases all the books they have brought out, particularly French books, in order to prevent our buying them.

“ With respect to the pamphlets, which you announce as sent to us, we only received one box of them on the 12th March, from which we conclude that probably the remainder have been kept.

" I have read this letter to the Emperor, who has approved of its contents, but has thought that I had very feebly expressed the baseness of the conduct observed towards him. He desires me to send you two notes written by himself, which will give you the whole of his opinion respecting the officer to whom the superintendence of this country has been intrusted. The calomel which the Emperor has taken has not hitherto had any beneficial effect on the liver, and has produced other ailments.

" Accept, my dear Las Cases, the assurance of affectionate feelings which I entertain towards you.

" COUNT BERTRAND."

" P. S. During the few days that have elapsed since this letter was written, many things have happened which will prove to you that our situation, far from improving, as you seem to suppose, is daily growing worse.

" You know that Captain Mackey of the 53d regiment, had been succeeded at Longwood, as officer on duty, by Captain Poppleton of the same regiment, and that Poppleton, at his departure, had been succeeded by Captain Blackeney of the 66th, who, like his predecessors, enjoyed a most excellent reputation in his regiment. This latter officer already thought, on the first days after his arrival, that the Governor required of him some acts unworthy of a man of honour; but as the number of those objectionable acts had greatly increased since that time, he at last ardently longed for the expiration of his year of service in that degrading post, in order to have nothing more to do with it. It is known that he declared confidentially to his friends in the regiment, that it was impossible for a man of honour to continue in that post without losing his own esteem. It may be also that Sir Hudson Lowe was not satisfied with the avowed sentiments of Captain Blackeney; but be that as it may, on the 20th of this month, an officer who had been sent out to take the command of the militia, and whose former connexion with Sir Hudson Lowe is known to you, the only one out of the whole of the Governor's staff whom the Emperor refused to see, came to instal

himself as officer on duty, and with him, under various pretences, another officer, so that we had two instead of one. It appears that some rooms and articles belonging to Government, which had been given in common between the officer on duty and Doctor O'Meara, have occasioned some violent contentions between them.

" On the 22d I sent the protest marked A\* to the Governor, who sent me a challenge by the officer alluded to. It was beneath my character and my situation to provoke Sir Hudson Lowe, but on this occasion I thought proper to address to him the letter marked B.\*

" On the 24th, he sent Doctor O'Meara away from Longwood, by virtue, he said, of an order from Lord Bathurst, as you will, see by the Governor's letter to Count Montholon, marked C,\* to which Count Montholon answered by the letter marked D.\*

Doctor O'Meara, you know, was attached to the Emperor instead of his own physician, by a decision of the Council, and in consequence of a special demand to that effect, addressed by me to Admiral Keith; he could not therefore be taken away from the Emperor but by an order in Council. If such an order exists, why are we not made acquainted with it? Certainly neither the Council nor Lord Bathurst would have removed from the Emperor the physician of his own choice, without having previously supplied his place by another in whom the Emperor had confidence; they would have felt the responsibility attached to such a step.

" But if even there had been an order in Council, it would not justify the Governor; for that order, given under ordinary circumstances, could not be carried into execution at the moment when the Emperor was seriously indisposed. It never can have been intended that his physician should be taken from him in the midst of his attendance in the case of a disease of so serious a nature, and which threatens his existence; particularly as since the month of April it has been demanded, that if it were intended

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\* See these letters in the following pages.

to take Dr. O'Meara away from him, another physician should be sent out from Europe in his stead, in whom the Emperor should have confidence. The answer to this demand must arrive before three months are elapsed.

"I conclude, my dear Las Cases: my heart is broken.

"BERTRAND."

*First Note, written by the Emperor, on the back of Sir Hudson Lowe's Letter, dated 18th November, 1817.*

"THIS letter, and the letters dated 24th July and 26th October last, are filled with falsehoods. I have shut myself up in my apartment for eighteen months, in order to shelter myself from the insults of this officer. My health is now impaired, and will no longer allow me to read such disgusting documents; send me no more of them.

"Whether that officer considers himself authorized by verbal and secret instructions from his Minister, as he has given us to understand that he does, or whether he acts of his own accord, which might be inferred from the care which he takes to act with disguise, I cannot treat him but as my assassin.

"Had they sent out to this country a man of honour, not only I should have experienced fewer vexations, but they would have saved themselves many reproaches from Europe and history, which the farrago of writing of this crafty man will not deceive.

"NAPOLEON."

"Longwood, 23d November, 1817."

*Second Note, inserted in the margin of Sir Thomas Reade's Letter to Count Bertrand, dated 25th April, 1818.*

"1.—I TOLD you yesterday, when you presented this letter to me, that I would not know its contents, and that you were not to translate it to me, since it is not conformable to the forms adopted for the last three years.

" 2.—This fresh insult only dishonours that coxcomb. The King of England alone can treat with me on a footing of equality.

" 3.—This crafty line of conduct has however an object: to prevent you from disclosing *the criminal plot which has been carried on for the last two years against my life*.

" 4.—It is thus that, while they appear to open a channel for complaints, they in fact close every avenue.

" 5.—Thus, with the appearance of a wish to provide me with a house, and after announcing a building for the last three years, I am however still in this unhealthy barn, and no building is begun.

" 6.—It is thus that, whilst it appears that I am at liberty to ride on horseback, indirect means are resorted to to prevent me from doing so, and from taking exercise. The want of which is the first cause of my complaint.

" 7.—The same means are resorted to, to prevent me from receiving any visit. It is necessary for them to veil themselves in darkness.

" 8.—It is thus that after having attacked my physician, after having obliged him to tender his resignation, not wishing to be a passive instrument and deprived of all moral independence, he is nevertheless kept under arrest at Longwood, in order that it may be believed that I have the benefit of his attendance, when it is well known that I will not see him, that I have not seen him for the last fortnight, that I never will see him as long as he is not set at liberty, and freed from the oppression under which he is placed, and until he has regained his moral independence in what concerns the exercise of his functions.

" 9.—It is thus that a false representation is made by causing bulletins to be issued by a physician who has never seen me, and does not know the state in which I am, nor the disease with which I am affected; but that does very well to deceive the Prince and the people of England and Europe.

" 10.—A ferocious joy is manifested at the aggravation of sufferings which this deprivation of medical assistance adds to my protracted agony.

" 11.—Demand that this note be sent to Lord Liverpool, as also your letter of yesterday, and of 18th and 14th April, in order that the Prince Regent may know my \* \* \* \* \* and may cause him to be brought to public punishment.

" 12.—If he does not, *I bequeath the opprobrium of my death* to the reigning House of England.

" **NAPOLEON.**"

" *Longwood, 27th April, 1818.*"

**DOCUMENT A.** *Protest addressed to the Governor, on the 22d July, 1818.*

" In the name of the Emperor Napoleon, I am enjoined to protest,

" 1.—Against all violation of our enclosure by servants, workmen or others, whom you would secretly invest with public authority.

" 2.—Against the insults offered to Dr. O'Meara to compel him to leave this place, and against the obstructions, either public or secret, which you have opposed or may oppose to Napoleon's being assisted in his illness by the advice of some medical officer in whom he may have confidence, who may be accredited in the service of his Britannic Majesty, or known to practise publicly in the island.

" 3.—Against all testimonies, reports and writings of the militia officer Hyster, who is only placed at Longwood to be an instrument of hatred and vengeance.

" **COUNT BERTRAND.**"

**DOCUMENT B.** *To the Governor Sir Hudson Lowe.*

*Longwood, 23d July, 1818.*

" **SIR,**—I have the honour to transmit to you a letter which I have just received. The old man appears to me to be out of his senses. He can have no knowledge of my official correspon-

dence but by your orders. I have not answered him, and shall not do so. He is only a subordinate agent, and if his principal, a general officer, wishes to demand satisfaction of me, I am ready to grant it.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ COUNT BERTRAND.”

DOCUMENT C. *The Governor to Count Montholon.*

*Plantation House, 25th July, 1818.*

“ SIR,—I do myself the honour to state to you, for the information of Napoleon Bonaparte, that agreeably to the instructions which I have received from Lord Bathurst, dated 16th May, 1818, I am directed to remove Mr. O'Meara from his situation near the person of Napoleon Bonaparte, and that I have accordingly given orders for him to leave Longwood immediately. Rear-Admiral Plampin has received, at the same time, instructions from the Lords of the Admiralty to remove him from this island. Lord Bathurst's instructions further direct, that after Mr. O'Meara's departure, I am to order Dr. Baxter to attend upon Napoleon Bonaparte, as physician, whenever he is requested to do so; and that I am to inform him that he is to consider the health of Napoleon Bonaparte as the chief object of his attention. On communicating this arrangement, I am strictly enjoined to state, at the same time, that if Napoleon Bonaparte has any reason not to be satisfied with the medical attendance of Dr. Baxter, or if he prefers any other physician of this island, I am quite ready to acquiesce in his wishes in that respect, and to allow any other medical practitioner whom he may select, to attend upon him, provided he strictly conform to the rules established and now in force.

“ Having given Dr. O'Meara the orders for his departure, I have furnished Mr. Baxter with the necessary instructions, and he will be ready to repair to Longwood at the first summons. In the meantime, until I am informed of the wishes of

Napoleon Bonaparte on this subject, I shall order a medical officer to be stationed at Longwood, to be ready in case of emergency.

“ I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

“ HUDSON LOWE, Lieut.-Gen.”

*DOCUMENT D. Count Montholon to the Governor.*

“ SIR,—Dr. O'Meara quitted Longwood yesterday, being compelled to leave his patient in the midst of the course of medicine which he was prescribing for him ; that course has ceased this morning. From this morning a great crime is in progress !!! Nothing remains to be added to Count Bertrand's letters of the 13th, 24th, 26th and 27th April last. The Emperor will never receive any other physician than Mr. O'Meara, because he is the physician attached to him, or than the one who might be sent from Europe to him ; in conformity with the letter of the 13th of August, which has been already mentioned.

“ I have communicated the letter you addressed to me yesterday. What I have now the honour of writing to you is the substance of the reply I have been desired to transmit.

“ I have, &c.

“ COUNT MONTHOLON.”

*Letter of Count Bertrand to His Eminence Cardinal Fesch.\**

“ MY LORD,—The Sieur Cypriani, the Emperor's steward, died at Longwood, on the 27th of February last, at four in the afternoon. He was interred in the Protestant burial-ground of this island, and the ministers of their church have observed on this occasion

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\* We have thought it right to insert here this letter, because it affords additional details respecting the interior of Longwood, and adds new features to all that has been said of its real situation.



the same rites that they would have performed for one of their own persuasion. Care has been taken that in the extract from the register of deaths which I shall send to you, though this paragraph of my letter might answer the purpose, it should be stated that he died in the bosom of the Roman Catholic church. The minister of the church of this country would willingly have attended the deceased on his death-bed ; but the latter was anxious for a Catholic priest ; and as we have none, he appeared to have no wish to see a clergyman of any other religion. I should be glad if you would let us know what is the law of the Catholic church upon this point, and whether a Catholic on his death-bed may be administered by a minister of the church of England. We cannot, however, sufficiently praise the proper feeling and the zeal which were evinced on the present occasion by the clergy of the island. Cypriani died of an inflammation in the bowels. He expired on a Friday, and had attended his duties on the preceding Sunday without having any presentiment of his approaching end. A child of one of Count Montholon's servants had died at Longwood a few days before. A waiting-woman died some days ago of the same complaint. Such is the effect of this unhealthy climate, in which few men live to an old age. Liver complaints, dysentery, and inflammations in the bowels, carry off many of the natives, but a still greater number of Europeans. We felt upon this occasion, as we feel every day, the want of a minister of our own persuasion. As you are our bishop, we wish you would send us out one, either a Frenchman or an Italian. You will, in that case, select a man of instruction, under forty years of age, and especially of a mild disposition, and not imbued with antigallican principles.

“ The steward's duty has devolved upon Mr. Pierron, of the household, but he has been very ill ; and, though convalescent, is still in a bad state of health. The cook is in a similar condition. It would be, therefore, necessary that either you, or Prince Eugene, or the Empress, should send out a steward and a French or an Italian cook, taken from amongst those who

have been in the Emperor's service, or who may still be in the service of his family.

"Your Eminence will find annexed : 1.—The papers found in M. Cypriani's portfolio ; 2.—A brooch which he was in the habit of wearing, and which I have thought it right to send home for his wife ; 3.—An account of all that is coming to him, amounting to 8,287 francs, or 245*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* sterling ; 4.—A bill of exchange in favor of his heirs, for the settlement of that account. The Emperor, knowing that his son is under your care, and that his daughter is with Madame, only delays securing an annuity to both his children, until he shall have been informed of the fortune left by Cypriani, who appears to have funds in Genoa to a rather considerable amount.

"I will not afflict you by dwelling upon the state of the Emperor's health, which is not satisfactory. It has not, however, become worse since the hot weather. I hope you will keep these details concealed from Madame. Give no credit to the false reports that may be circulated in Europe. Consider as the only fact that may be relied on, that for these twenty-two months past the Emperor has only quitted his apartment occasionally, though very seldom, in order to pay a visit to my wife. He has hardly seen any one, unless it be two or three Frenchmen who are here, and the English Ambassador to China.

"I beg your Eminence will present my respects to Madame, and to the individuals of her family, and accept the homage of the sentiments with which I have the honor to be, &c.

"COUNT BERTRAND."

*First Letter of the Count de Las Cases to General Count Bertrand.\**

"I AM going to devote to you the first moment that I can command. It is now upwards of a year since I quitted Long-

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\* It has been thought necessary to introduce here the following letters of Count de Las Cases ; 1—Because they are alluded to in the preceding letter

wood; and during that time, what troubles, what cares, what misfortunes of every kind have I not had to contend with!!! I leave it to the newspapers to give you an account of my tribulations. I shall avoid in my letters every expression, every subject that might afford a pretext for their being withheld from you. I will promote, by all means in my power, the only object I have in view, which is, that you should receive from me the proofs of a devotedness that will occupy every instant of the remainder of my life. I have but too present to my mind, the consolation and happiness that I derived when in your company, from European recollections, not to give all my attention to the object of procuring you that kind of consolation: Oh, my dear companions! who will henceforth engross my thoughts of every day, and of every moment! I am, therefore, writing to you on the first instant of freedom that I enjoy from personal restraint; and regularly every month, on the same day, I shall at least give

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from Count Bertrand, and help to complete the sense and understanding of it; 2.—Because they evince the candour and good faith with which this correspondence with Longwood was carried on; 3.—In short, because they enable the reader to give its due value to the extraordinary assertion of Mr. Goulburn, who, whilst he received these letters, and acknowledged with courtesy the receipt of them, nevertheless ventured to affirm in the House of Commons, on a certain occasion, that the author's expressions were always clothed in language admitting of a twofold interpretation. How can a man of candour, such as the person to whom the aforesaid letters were addressed, who had received, and must have read my letter to Lord Bathurst particularly, take upon himself to assert that the author's expressions were always given in language that admitted of a double interpretation? Surely, Mr. Goulburn must be very fastidious in point of explicit and positive meaning, or else he does not understand French. But has he read? Has he misunderstood? Did he wish to misunderstand, and, in imitation of Lord Bathurst, may he not, like his noble patron, on the occasion of his famous denials to Lord Holland in the House of Peers, have founded his arguments not upon what really existed, but upon what appeared to his advantage? The communication of these letters is made chiefly from the necessity of enabling every one to judge of the degree of credit which is due to Mr. Goulburn's assertion. That they were not intended to be made public, is sufficiently evident from the careless and unaffected style in which they are written.

you this token of my incessant anxiety for you. Obstacles, perhaps, over which I shall have no control, may prevent your receiving my letters ; but as far as regards me, death alone can make me fail in my promise ; and here I appeal to the feelings of those who, being intrusted with the censure of my letters, might fancy that they found in their expressions some motives for intercepting them. I beseech them to let me know of any involuntary deviations on my part that might appear reprehensible to them, in order that I may avoid them for the future. The necessity and the consolation of domestic sentiments cannot be prohibited by public morality ; and such are the only sentiments which I shall endeavour to gratify in writing to you.

“ I have just obtained the asylum in Austria, which I demanded, as soon as I found that my liberty was in danger. I shall repair to Lintz so soon as the wretched state of my health will allow me to undertake the journey. The headaches which first attacked me at the Cape, are daily encreasing in violence, and give me much uneasiness. I shall avail myself of the free intercourse which is henceforth allowed to me, in order to procure some exact information respecting all those that may be dear to you. To-day I can only give you such information as I have been able to collect indirectly.

“ My wife, who, by the greatest good fortune, was refused permission to go out to St. Helena, at the very moment when I was leaving it, and who came to meet me upon the high roads, where I was carried about like a bale of goods, is now on her return to Paris, from whence she will bring back the rest of my children. She will enable me to afford you some details in my next letter concerning your family, and those of Montholon and of Gourgaud.

“ I have been able to ascertain that H. M. Maria Louisa enjoyed excellent health in Parma, and that nothing can exceed the health and beauty of her son, who is at Schænbrunn. The Countess de Survilliers is detained here by the very infirm state of her health ; she occasionally receives news from her husband, who is quite well, in America. Both her daughters are

also well. The eldest bears a striking resemblance to the august head of the family. Princess Borghese, Madame, the Emperor's mother, Prince Canino, Cardinal Fesch, and Prince Louis, are at Rome, and in the enjoyment of excellent health; the remainder of the family, Princess Eliza, Count de Montfort, and Princess Murat, reside in various parts of Austria. I hope that in time I shall be able to send you more direct and positive details. I feel the most bitter regret that I was not able to land and fix my abode in England. I am deprived of the means of procuring and sending immediately whatever I might have thought calculated to afford you some trifling diversion upon your horrible rock. This is a religious duty imposed upon me, which I have solicited, and shall continue every day to solicit the British Ministers to allow me to fulfil. My constant endeavours to persuade them upon that point, will not allow me to despair of success. Nevertheless, however far I may be from the spot, I shall not fail to attain so sacred an object, by the assistance of some intermediate person; only you will receive the results of my cares and of my efforts in a less complete manner, and at a later period.

"Be careful all of you of your health; live for the consolation, the affection, the happiness, and the wishes of those who admire and love you.

"I received, upon my arrival at Dover, a letter from you, dated the 22d July, and one of the 29th from Sir Hudson Lowe. They acquainted me with what was unknown to me until then, that you had received the few articles I had sent to Longwood from the Cape; that you had received the document which was handed to me by you, and which I had returned, respecting the money which at my departure I had presumed to lay at the feet of the Emperor, and of which I was so happy as to procure the acceptance. Sir Hudson Lowe informs me, that all the bills relating to this affair, which I had left in your hands, have been negotiated. I hope they have been duly honoured. I know not yet myself the state of my affairs. I have not yet had it in my

power to write a single line to my agent in London, or to receive any news from him.

" I regret much that I have not in my power, and at my command, the narrative of the Campaigns of Italy. That distant epoch, already removed from the politics of the present day, possesses henceforth all the merit of history. It is anxiously wished for. Science, and the contemporaries of that period claim it. I should deem myself fortunate, if that work were confided to my care; and in case you should procure that favour for me, I shall instantly take the means of taking advantage of it without delay, by at once inquiring in London, what are the previous formalities that would be required, both in England and at St. Helena, in order that I might receive that manuscript. I shall request that the reply that will be made to me, may be likewise transmitted to Sir H. Lowe, in order that you may judge whether there would be no objection on your part to do what might be required of you.

" Write to me, dear General, in your turn, by every opportunity; give me all the commissions that may occur to your mind, whether serious or trifling, easy or difficult, it matters not. Be well persuaded, and constantly bear in mind, that I live only for you and through you all. My body alone has left your rock.

" COUNT DE LAS CASES."

*Letter of Count de Las Cases to Mr. Goulburn, Under Secretary of State, upon forwarding the above Letter to him.*

*Frankfort, 26th January, 1818.*

SIR,—My wife has informed me of the extreme kindness with which you have, on different occasions, transmitted accounts to her at Paris, of myself and of my son, and in the name of Lord Bathurst. Be pleased to accept the expression of my thanks, and of my gratitude for this proceeding.

" If, as I am given to understand, you have, under Lord Bathurst, the direction of the affairs of St. Helena, may I be al-

lowed to request you would guide me upon certain points relating to my correspondence with that island.

" Might I solicit of you, in the name of all those sentiments that dwell in a humane and feeling heart, that without departing from our own regulations, you would second my religious intentions, to afford some consolation and some attention to the sufferings that are endured in that Island.

" Might I request that you will obtain from Lord Bathurst that he would inform me whether I may be allowed to transmit to Longwood such books, pamphlets, newspapers, and other objects, as I may think would be acceptable there; and in case of an answer in the affirmative, that you would be pleased to point out any person you might wish to name, for selecting and purchasing them in London, as I would take nothing more upon myself than to pay the amount to your own orders.

" If in the open letters which I intend to address to you for St. Helena, you should perceive the most trifling phrase of a dubious import that may give you the least uneasiness, may I request you will take upon yourself to erase it, as I now give my consent to your doing so, in order that there may not arise any delay in their transmission; and that you will be so good as to communicate the objections to me, that I may not run the same risk on a future occasion.

" You may read, Sir, in the letter which I have the honour to send you this day for Longwood, that I therein ask for a manuscript (*the Campaigns in Italy*), which is quite foreign from the politics of the present day, but is precious for history and for science. In the event of its being confided to me from Longwood, might I obtain the favour of you to procure its being forwarded without loss of time, by prescribing forthwith to Sir H. Lowe the formalities that would be requisite, on both sides, to ensure its being transmitted to me.

" I am aware, Sir, that in the midst of your many occupations what I presume to ask may occasion to you an increase of trouble. Still I am not without hope from the sanctity of the motives which impel me to ask, that my request will be granted.

You will thus confer upon me the most lively and sincere obligation. It is with the view of being as little importunate as possible, and thereby giving a greater facility to the attainment of my wishes, that I have thought it right to address myself to you, Sir, in preference to Lord Bathurst. And in so doing I hope I have not transgressed the rules of propriety; it would be quite innocently and against my intentions.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

“ COUNT DE LAS CASES.”

*Second Letter of Count de Las Cases to General Count Bertrand.*

*Frankfort, 26 Jan. 1818.*

“ FAITHFUL to my promise, I write to you after the lapse of one month, and on the same day on which my first letter was dated. I have at heart to record the identical date, so that you may depend upon its never being passed over without my addressing you. Some passages, however, in my letter may perhaps be written subsequent to its date, owing to the silence of Madame de Las Cases, whose letters I was in daily expectation of receiving from Paris. It is now about a month since she left me. She proposed calling upon all your relations, and upon those of Generals Gourgaud and Montholon. She was to send me the most circumstantial details respecting them. To my great surprise I have not heard from her, and as I do not wish to delay any longer writing to you, I am under the necessity of postponing to next month all the particulars, which I am quite certain she will have collected with as much zeal and as much care as I could have done myself.

“ I have the satisfaction to know that my first letter has been forwarded to you: I had enclosed it in one to Mr. Goulburn; his answer has just reached me. I acknowledge with real pleasure that it is filled with expressions of kind consideration, and is in all respects satisfactory; this leads me to hope that what had hitherto taken place proceeded from mutual misunderstanding.



“ He assures me of the readiness that will exist at all times to forward my letters to you, so long as they shall be of the same nature as the first, and not liable to any greater objections. He adds, that conformably to my request, the books and pamphlets I may point out will be sent to you. He offers to procure them, and to superintend himself their regular transmission, taking care to remit to me from time to time a note of their cost, in order that I may settle the amount. He informs me that in case the Emperor shall think proper to confide to me the *Campaigns in Italy*, Sir Hudson Lowe is forthwith to receive instructions to transmit them to England, from whence they will be forwarded and delivered to me in the manner that may be desired at Longwood, after taking such cognizance of them as may be deemed necessary. Lastly, he apprizes me, that my papers which were seized in the Thames had been instantly sent back to me unopened; and that if I had not yet received them, which is still the case, accident alone could have occasioned the delay.

“ I am therefore in hopes that you will receive some publications with this very letter. I am unfortunately at a great distance and unpleasantly situated for selecting them, and for procuring them while new; but I will immediately write to London to remedy this inconvenience. I likewise hope, that by the same opportunity I may be able to send you many things of which you stand in need, or that may prove acceptable to you; and others that may be of essential service to the Emperor's health.

“ Her Majesty Maria Louisa is quite well, and still resides in Parma. Her son, from a late account given by a person who had seen him at a juvenile ball, is remarkably handsome, and is the delight of all Vienna. Such were the expressions used. He dances admirably well, and is passionately fond of that amusement.

“ All the members of the Emperor's family have evinced the kindest and most affectionate interest towards me. They have loaded me with offers and good wishes. I shall fortunately have it in my power to afford you regular accounts of them every month.

“ Prince Jerome has caused me to be assured that his offers

of service would know no other bounds than those of impossibility. He has given an asylum near his person to the worthy and virtuous Planat, who, after our separation on board of the *Bellerophon*, was tossed about by storms, and on the point of perishing on the coast. Princess Hortense informs me that she has suffered much persecution; but that if the torments inflicted upon her have originated in the tender and respectful devotedness which fills her heart, they are a source of pride and of happiness to her.

“Whenever my health will allow me, I go to pay my respects to Princess Joseph, who is confined to the most absolute retirement, and chiefly to her bed, by the bad state of her health. We talk of St. Helena. Our thoughts traverse the seas; those are happy moments for us. Her daughters are quite well; her husband, from very late accounts, was likewise well. He had taken under his care two of the Emperor Napoleon’s servants, which the British government had thought proper to retrench from the establishment of Longwood.

“Prince Lucien gives me an account of all those of the family who are assembled in Rome. Madame, Cardinal Fesch, Princess Borghese, and Prince Louis are all in the enjoyment of good health, and unite in wishes and prayers for the health and preservation of their august relative. As for Prince Lucien, he says he is happy in Rome; he has just provided advantageously for his three daughters. Yet his mind and his heart are incessantly directed towards St. Helena. He can no longer reconcile himself to the idea of seeing his brother languishing and dying in his exile. He desires I will candidly tell him whether the Emperor would be as happy to see him as he himself would be to appear before him; and conformably to his desire I write to the British Government by the courier who bears this letter, to request they will allow him to proceed to St. Helena, and to reside there a couple of years or for life, if his brother does not send him away, with or without his wife and children; his wife wishing to share in the honour of his exile: and further, to state that he will engage not to occasion any augmentation of expense,

either for himself or for his suite, and that he will submit to the same restrictions that are imposed upon his brother, and to any others that it might be thought proper to impose upon him personally, either before his departure, or after his return.

"I cannot refrain, my dear General, from again requesting you will ascertain if the Emperor would intrust to me the *Campaigns in Italy*; you might next forward to me those of Egypt in their turn. They are both real treasures for the learned world and for history, quite foreign to the politics of the present day, and consequently not liable to any objection. I have written to London to convey the Countess Bertrand's thanks for the friendly recollections that were so kindly expressed towards her, and the amiable attentions that were shewn to her children. If I had had it in my power to remain in England, I should have endeavoured to find out upon the spot some articles that I might have thought acceptable to the ladies. At this distance I can command nothing beyond my good wishes; they are very sincere towards them, and towards you all, my dear companions. The fatal rock is ever impressed upon my heart.

"I am still far from being well; my headaches are daily increasing; the physicians are at a loss to give an opinion upon the subject. May God deign to preserve my health, for the service and benefit of those who are dearest to my heart. I embrace you all affectionately. Take care of yourselves, and may you enjoy good health; it will be my reward, and the reward of your friends, who love you as I do.

"COUNT DE LAS CASES."

*Letter of Count de Las Cases to Mr. Goulburn, enclosing the above.*

"SIR,—I am this instant favoured with your letter. I am truly grateful for the satisfactory reply which it gives to every point in mine, and for the personal marks of kindness and attention you are pleased to evince towards me.

“ I send you a second letter for Longwood. You are perfectly right in what you observe to me concerning the documents of the Campaigns in Italy, when I was still in St. Helena. I beg you will offer my thanks to Lord Bathurst, for the instructions he has given to Sir Hudson Lowe, in order to remove any difficulty in the transmission of those papers, in the event of the Emperor Napoleon being pleased to confide them to my care.

“ I am going to write to London, to desire that a note may be handed to you of the books and pamphlets which I should wish you would have the kindness to forward to Longwood. I am too much out of the way to be able to select them in time. At all events, if the first opportunity that offers for St. Helena did not afford sufficient time to allow of this note being delivered to you, may I request you will take the trouble of sending off at once the last pamphlets written by De Pradt, Fiévée, Benjamin Constant, Chateaubriand, those upon the Concordat, &c. &c.? Will you also add to them such English publications as you may think most recent, and possessing greatest merit? Will you have the further kindness to subscribe to the *Journal du Commerce*, for the establishment at Longwood, provided however they do not already receive a French newspaper since my departure; and also, at your choice, to any of your opposition papers? the *Courier* and the *Times* being common in the island, were lent to them. I shall most punctually repay the amount of your disbursements, and only request you will not allow these small debts to run up too high, nor draw upon me for their amount at sight. I have no funds at my own disposal, those that I have been fortunate enough to offer and to see accepted, not having yet been returned to me. I am therefore compelled to apply to the purse of others and of every body: *I beg for Belisarius*.

“ Encouraged by the kindness of your *official* answer, and in the hope also of finding you disposed to oblige, I shall so far extend my requests as to beg you will be kind enough to include in the number of articles which you will send out to Longwood, some things which I consider likely to contribute to the comfort of the prisoner of Longwood, or essentially necessary to

his health. Would you be kind enough, for instance, to procure some pounds of the best coffee that can be found in London, and a certain quantity of the best *vin de Bordeaux* that exists? I know by experience, with reference to the last article, that it was possible to get it on the spot, out of the cellar of the growers themselves, at the rate of six or seven francs, which was superior to all that the trade could supply. I should attach some value to the possibility of procuring something of the kind. I can assure you, Sir, with perfect truth and without the least feeling of animosity and ill humour, that it happened but too frequently that the wine presented to Napoleon was not drinkable, and that most of the articles destined for his use were of the same description. You will the more easily understand this, when you reflect that the articles of provision supplied to us were furnished by *contract*. Your Government disburses the necessary sums no doubt, but you are too well acquainted with matters of business not to be aware of the abuses and inconveniences connected with the furnishing of supplies. My intention in alluding to this, is not to bring forward a fresh subject of complaint, I merely give vent to the effusion of the moment. I sent from the Cape some Constantia wine; it was found good, and was relished at Longwood. Will you be kind enough to order some more to be sent on my account. Another article, which I should very much wish to procure, is some of our Provence oil of the best quality purchased on the spot; we never had any thing of the kind given to us that was not quite disgusting. The want of *Eau de Cologne* was also felt very much, which habit had rendered necessary to health.

“ I am aware, Sir, that I am taking the liberty of entering into details which are quite inconsistent with your sphere of life; and I can hardly conceive how, with the best intentions in the world, you will be able to superintend the execution of my requests. Yet the mere dictates of humanity, the most trivial feelings of attention and kindness seem to be sufficient to establish a right to such indulgences. It was in order to obviate all these difficulties, and at the same time to satisfy every claim, that I so strenuously

solicited the permission to fix my abode in England. The objects to which I presume to call your attention would have been my sole and -constant occupation. And I should have fulfilled it scrupulously; reliance might have been placed in me upon that score, I should have been faithful to all that I had promised. And what inconvenience could have resulted from granting the permission to bestow such innocent care and marks of attention, and which are so natural? What name on the contrary might not be justly given to the cruel interdictions which have been pronounced? Could they be maintained? I still solicit and am anxious to obtain a relaxation in my favour, that is in favour of humanity. I live at Frankfort as if I were yet under *surveillance*; I scarcely leave my apartment more than I should have done were I really so; and I should have lived at London in the same manner.

“ I shall now conclude this long letter, Sir, by requesting you will lay before the Minister, the demand which Prince Lucien Bonaparte has instructed me to address to him, to be allowed to proceed to St. Helena to reside there two years, with or without his wife and children, engaging that he and his suite will not contribute in the least degree to occasion any augmentation of expense, promising to submit to every restriction imposed upon his brother, and offering to submit to any restrictions that might be imposed upon himself personally, either before his departure, or after his return.

“ The information which you are kind enough to give me concerning my papers seized on the Thames, is the first word that I have heard upon the subject since I was deprived of them. I have requested the British Minister resident here, to have the goodness to claim them at Berlin, where they seem to be forgotten. I assure you that their absence has been to me, and is still, the occasion of a great deal of inconvenience and serious injury.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir, with sentiments of the highest consideration, &c. &c.

“ COUNT DE LAS CASES.”

*Third Letter from Count de Las Cases to General Count  
Bertrand.*

*Frankfort, March 15, 1818.*

" I EXPERIENCE a certain pleasure, my dear General, in writing my third letter to you, from the thought that my first must now be very near reaching you. I hope my second is already on its way to St. Helena, although I am not fortunate enough to be certain of it. A great many publications were to be sent out at the same time, and I am going to transmit a note of some others to be sent with the present letter.

" I have just heard from my wife, who is on the point of quitting Paris to come with my children and reside with me. She informs me that she had seen the family of General Gourgaud, and had given to them all the details which she had heard from me concerning himself and your establishment at Longwood. His mother and his sister are both very well, and send him the assurance of their most affectionate love and good wishes. Your family, Grand Marshal, was in one of the provinces, and for some time past no news had been received from them. With respect to the family of Count Montholon, Madame de Las Cases has not been fortunate enough to meet with any body belonging to it. I hope to be able in my next letter to speak of your friends, notwithstanding they are away from the capital.

" All the members of the Emperor's family are quite well. I have heard of every one of them since my last, and shall hear every month so as to be able to transmit regular information to you. They all follow him with their good wishes, and live only for him. Most of them had been hitherto entirely deprived of any information respecting him, and the little that I have been enabled to tell them, has therefore proved most valuable and dear to them. To satisfy their interest and their affection, which are both natural, I shall request the British Government when they receive news from St. Helena, to allow me to receive the intelligence of the state of the Emperor's health; it is a favour

which I shall request in the name of a numerous family, and I hope it will not be refused to the sentiment which dictates it.

“ Prince Jerome has done me the honour to inform me, that the conditions attached to the permission of corresponding with his august brother, and his profound veneration for him whom he acknowledges as his second father, have alone prevented him from having the happiness of writing to him, and laying his existence at his feet. If the situation of the Emperor be not improved next year, he proposes to ask permission of the British Government to go to St. Helena with his wife and his son, supposing that such a voyage could not be opposed by any reasonable objection. The Queen his wife, to whom nothing is foreign that is noble and elevated, is inspired with the same sentiments, and expresses the same wishes. •

“ Cardinal Fesch also writes to me in the name of Madame and in his own, requesting me to observe, that being the only two whose attention is not divided by individual ties, arising out of the consideration of a family, and the fear of exposing it to inconveniences, I must apply to them in preference for every thing that can contribute to alleviate in any way the horrible situation of the Emperor.

“ Countess Survilliers, whom I have the honour of seeing very frequently, and whose wishes are incessantly turned towards St. Helena, is in a very indifferent state of health. She suffers very much, and even occasions some uneasiness. The princesses her daughters, are quite well.

“ I have just received, at last, my papers which had been seized in the Thames. They have reached me after four months of useless rambling, and of daily privation to me. Fatality alone can have occasioned the delay, for they have been returned to me unopened.

“ I long very much to hear from you, and to receive your commissions. Unfortunately, the distance is so great, and the communications are so irregular, that I shall have yet to write for some time. Ask me for every thing you want; until then I



am reduced to guess. You will soon receive that part of the *Moniteur* which you have not. I write this day on the subject.

" I have at last received a letter from my agent in London. He informs me that he has honoured my bills, which I am happy to hear. But he also informs me, that he has received besides from you two other bills, which he has been under the necessity of refusing for want of advice or authority from me. I am sorry for this. Since I have left you, I had not been able to communicate with him. I have immediately answered his letter, directing him to remedy the evil as far as it lies in his power. He does not however give me any particulars respecting those bills.

" My health is still as indifferent, not to say much worse. I am quite disheartened by it, and the more so, as the season is getting very fine, and this circumstance does not however produce any beneficial change to me. That is the reason why I remain at Frankfort, being placed in the centre of a great number of mineral springs, where the physicians intend to send me.

" Receive for yourself, Grand Marshal, and for my dear companions, the expression of my wishes, and of all my sentiments. The colony of Longwood occupies and fills every moment of my existence. Take care of yourselves. Such is the wish of those who love you. I daily hear it expressed for you all. There are here, or in the neighbourhood, several of the banished ; some were particular acquaintances of yours. They love and venerate you.

" COUNT DE LAS CASES."

*Letter from Count de Las Cases to Mr. Goulburn, enclosing the preceding.*

*Frankfort, 27 March, 1818.*

" SIR,—I have the honour to send you my third letter for St. Helena. I have this moment received the papers which had been taken from me at Dover. They are sent to me without having been opened, and I feel grateful for this kindness. It had, however, never entered my mind to think of opposing their examination ; and my letter to Lord Sidmouth, which was un-

fortunately published against my will, will prove the truth of this assertion. I am sorry that the obstinacy and the mistaken zeal of a subordinate agent, should have given rise to this circumstance, which has occasioned me four months of inconvenience and daily privations.

"I must not omit, Sir, to point out to your observation a circumstance, which may perhaps have escaped you. You did me the honour to write to me on the 12th February. Your letter was delivered to me by his Britannic Majesty's Minister in this city, on the 28th of the same month; and in the Times, of the 2d March, there is an article, containing the sense, and almost the very words of your letter, which, it is therein asserted, that I had communicated. But, as I could not have forwarded that letter to London in twenty-four hours, I need not justify myself to you, Sir, against the charge of any indiscretion; it is enough for me to put you in possession of the fact, and to abandon its details to your calculation, assuring you that I attach too much value to what you are kind enough to transmit to me, to give publicity to it in any way.\* I owe that consideration to the kindness you have shewn towards me, and to the respect which I entertain for you.

\* The fact here alluded to, deserves to be related, if not for its importance, at least on account of its inexplicable singularity.

The letter of the Under Secretary of State, dated 12th February, was delivered to Count de Las Cases at Frankfort, on the 23th of the same month, by the British Minister in that city, and the Times of the 2d March, printed about twenty-four hours afterwards, contained the following paragraph:—"A private letter from Frankfort on the Maine, informs us that Count Las Cases is treated there with the greatest attention, and that he is under the special protection of the Ministers of Austria and England. The Count has even very lately shewn a letter from the Under Secretary of State, in which, amongst other obliging offers, he is authorized to send, through the medium of the Colonial Department, all the books, pamphlets, and newspapers, which General Bonaparte might demand. This circumstance naturally suggests the following question:—*Does the British Government consider Count Las Cases as the Chargé d'Affaires of Napoleon in Europe?*"

Now the substance of the article relative to the Under Secretary of State, is exact and true, even to certain expressions. Count Las Cases is, undoubtedly, not bound to justify himself against the charge of an act of indiscretion, that

" I request, Sir, that you will subscribe, for the establishment at Longwood, to the *Misère Française*, and to continue to supply them with the new publications, both French and English, which you may consider to possess some interest.

" Cardinal Fesch writes to me from Rome, that he has twice offered his collection of the *Moniteur*, for the establishment at Longwood. They have already at St. Helena, as far as 1807 ; it is, therefore, only from 1808, until the present year, that is wanting. If you have any objection to send out those years, transmitted by the Cardinal, would you, at least, allow them to replace those that you yourself would have selected and sent out ? Motives of economy, dictated by circumstances, oblige me to venture to make this proposal to you.

" All Napoleon's family unite in requesting me to entreat you, Sir, in the name of sentiments the most affectionate and most natural, to have the extreme kindness to inform me of the state of health of their august relative, each time that you shall receive the intelligence officially. This is a favour which we all ask of you, and which, I trust, that your heart will not refuse to grant to the wishes of so many persons, who will feel most grateful for it. I am aware, Sir, that each time I have the honour of writing to you, it is to address fresh importunities, or to cause you fresh embarrassments ; but I assure you, from the bottom of my heart, that it is against my will, and that I should feel extremely happy in being enabled to relieve you from this trouble. This naturally leads me to ask you, with a view to the interests of humanity and

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could have forwarded his words, in twenty-four hours, from Frankfort to London ; and, in order to have guessed so precisely in this article, the despatch of the Under Secretary of State must have been opened on its way from London to Frankfort, or even at London ; or else the information must have been surreptitiously obtained from the Secretary's office. These arguments are unanswerable ; and in that case, by whom can it have been done ? how and why was it done ? and what could be the object of the article alluded to ?

This is not, however, the only example that exists of the intimate connexion between certain articles of the newspapers, and the confidential correspondence of Longwood. We are quite ready to produce them, supported by proofs quite as incontestable.

of our mutual advantage, whether you can inform me, not in your public capacity, but as a private individual, if I am to give up all hopes of going, some day, to England, there to fulfil the sacred duty to which I have piously devoted the remainder of my faculties and of my days. If I could entertain the least hope of being allowed to do so, I should, from to-morrow, begin again to apply officially to Lord Bathurst for permission; but if I must definitively abandon that hope, I shall carefully avoid taking a step which would only have the effect of giving rise to observations, and again bringing forward bitter complaints, which it is my disposition to avoid as much as possible.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ COUNT DE LAS CASES.”

*Fourth Letter from Count Las Cases to General  
Count Bertrand.*

*Frankfort, 15th April 1818.*

“ MADAME Las Cases has continued her inquiries respecting your family and that of the gentlemen. I have myself written direct. The answers have been forwarded to me through my *valet de chambre*. I have learned that your family were well and undisturbed. The sister of General Gourgaud has written me a very agreeable letter, full of tenderness for her brother. As to my third attempt, strongly repeated, it produced only absolute silence. You will find, M. Grand Marshal, my details very barren. It is not my fault: I write to you every thing I can. You will do wrong to judge, by my want of matter, of all my cares and incessant exertions.

“ I continue to receive news of all the members of the family of the Emperor. They are all well in health. His son continues a fine boy. The Empress, they write me, is very thin. I have lately seen a person of the household of the Princess Murat. He was specially charged to describe to me her tender solicitude for her august brother, her devotion and her wishes. I have received a letter from the Princess Elisa, full of the same sentiments. They all live only to think of him whom

they hold so near at heart, who loaded them with kindnesses, and now absorbs all their sentiments. The Princess Elisa resides at Trieste. She informs me, that she has written five times to Saint Helena. The Cardinal writes to me, that on his side, they have written very often from Rome. I have received an answer from London to the request which I had made, and of which I informed you in my last, for leave for Prince Lucien to visit his august brother. The answer has not appeared sufficiently explicit for me to send it to you before I have a new explanation.— Prince Jerome, who talked of making a like attempt next year, has not been able to postpone for so long a time a step the success of which would delight his heart. He is going to address himself to the Prince Regent, for permission for himself, his wife and son, to undertake the voyage immediately.

“ The Cardinal has given me a very full account of all the members of the family settled at Rome. The Princess Hortensia enjoys tranquillity at Augsburg, where she is occasionally visited by her brother. She is occupied with the education of her second son. She has had the eldest with her several months, who has developed, during his short visit, all the qualities which honour, attach, and interest. He has returned to Rome to his father, who is settled in that city. I hope that my first letter has reached you before this ; and I reckon the days and hours that will bring me your answer, because then I shall know more particularly what I can do to be agreeable to each of you. Be assured that I and mine only live for this ; and that death itself could not interrupt the course of my efforts for that purpose. I shall have provided a successor. Let me then know all your wishes. Nothing will be impossible to my zeal, to the affection and devotion of those who assist me.

“ I have received a very polite answer from London respecting all the articles which I desired to be sent to your address. They assure me that they are going to send you the several pamphlets which I mentioned. They have ordered, they tell me, the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Journal du Commerce*, that of Paris, which they say is the best. As for the rest, upon this point, as

upon every other, write to me your wishes. Tell me every thing that may give pleasure to the establishment.

"As to provisions, wine, coffee, oil, &c. which I mentioned in my letter, they answer me that they had sent you a considerable supply, and of the best quality: they have sent me the list. They add that Lord Holland had sent a quantity, at the request of the Princess Borghese: they have sent me a list of that also.

"My health, unfortunately, is still very deplorable: I see no amendment. The physicians insist that I shall entirely abstain from business.—I am going to take the waters somewhere. I shall most probably inform you, in my next, of my departure from Frankfort. I have had an opportunity of seeing here several of the banished who have found a temporary refuge in this city or its vicinity. They flatter themselves daily with their speedy recall. Public opinion demands it, they are told. It is thought that about the end of the year all the French will be at liberty to reside in France. I have, however, myself, been a stranger to the severity exercised towards them. Madame Las Cases, on her return to Paris, received from old friends a great deal of advice, and many offers on my account. They pressed forward in the most obliging manner to offer their services and their influence; but she has constantly answered that in reality I wanted no assistance, and it was not my intention moreover to put the kindness of any one to the test; that I had voluntarily banished myself for a holy and religious ministry; and in fact I shall no more have a country, Monsieur Grand Marshal, as long as you shall be where you are, and there shall remain a single chance that my efforts, my devotion, and my zeal, may be able to afford you any useful or agreeable consolation—until then I shall be a wanderer in the world. I shall carry about every where, if it must be, my atmosphere of sorrow and zeal. On your part keep me in your remembrance, give me the consolation of imagining that our thoughts cross each other, and sometimes are interchanged. Patience and courage are the virtues of heroes. Who knows better than I that they belong to you all? Adieu—I embrace you.

"COUNT DE LAS CASES."

"P.S. I have written to them to send you the *Minerve Française*; a new work, in great repute, which has succeeded the *Mercur* and the *Bibliothèque Historique*, of which so much has been said. I expect my wife every day. The moment she arrives, I shall send my son to travel. He is of an age to finish his education. He requests that you and Madame Bertrand will accept the expressions of his gratitude for the kindness you have always shewn him."

*Letter from Count Las Cases to Mr. Goulburn, addressing to him the preceding.*

*Frankfort on the Maine, 26th April 1818.*

"SIR,—I thank you very much, and with sincere gratitude, for the punctuality with which you have been pleased to answer my letters, and the details into which you have condescended to enter. I hope that at the present hour the several publications which you have mentioned to me will have been sent off for Saint Helena. I request that you will please to add to them the *Minerve Française*, all that has appeared and shall continue to be published, of that work; the same with regard to the *Bibliothèque Historique*. And, once for all, I pray you to give orders to your bookseller or correspondent, that you may comprise in the parcels and without any further direction from me, every thing remarkable which may appear, French and English, whatever may be the contained opinions.

"I thank you for the account you have been pleased to give me of all the supplies of necessaries, which have been sent off for St. Helena; and the two lists (1 and 2), which you have had the politeness to add to it. I shall take the liberty of requesting that you will be pleased to add by the first opportunity, some bottles of liqueurs of Martinique, but *real*. Impositions are often practised in this article. You will pardon this petty detail; you know how happy I should esteem myself in saving you the trouble by executing it myself; which leads me naturally to mention with what impatience I await your answer to my last letter upon this latter subject.

"You inform me, Sir, that if Prince Lucien Bonaparte desires to leave Italy, he must address himself to one of the Ambassadors of the great Powers at Paris. May I further request you will let me know, if, having obtained it, he may flatter himself that your Government will permit him, in compliance with his request, which I have had the honour to transmit to you, to proceed to St. Helena.

"Accept, Sir, the sincere expression of the high consideration, &c. &c.

"COUNT LAS CASES."

*Fifth Letter from Count Las Cases, to General Count Bertrand.*

*Frankfort on the Maine, 15th May, 1818.*

"I WOULD write to you this day, my dear Bertrand, merely to be punctual and faithful to the date which I have invariably prescribed to myself, every month, for giving you my news. No change having taken place in my situation, I could only repeat, word for word, the matter contained in my last. I hoped to have been able to send you my letter from another place; but very violent pains in my eyes, which have aggravated my other complaints, have hitherto prevented me from setting out for some of the warm baths in the south of Germany, to which I shall repair, however, in a few days.

"I have the satisfaction to learn that my preceding letters have been regularly despatched to you, and that a great many pamphlets have been sent off. I wish they may amuse you. Unfortunately I provide for you a little in the dark;—The circumstances of locality will be my excuse; I do my best; I am in a bad situation for that. Such a case as mine would require a capital.—I am not permitted to reside in London; and in Paris I could not accomplish my purpose. The same distance prevents me from thinking of sending you a great many little things with which I might employ myself if I were upon the spot. I had thought of completing for you a little chemical apparatus but renounced it. I understand it would be useless to you.



“ All the relatives of the Emperor are well, and await with impatience the regular course of your letters, of which they entertain no doubt, as you will have received my first ; with my invariable resolution to send you theirs every month punctually.— My wife will rejoin me in a few days, to part no more I hope.

“ Adieu, accept my wishes.

“COUNT LAS CASES.”

*Letter from Count Las Cases, to Mr. Goulburn, enclosing to him the preceding.*

*Frankfort on the Maine, 19th May, 1818.*

“ I HAVE the honour to thank you for the kindness with which you have been pleased to inform me of the departure of my letters for St. Helena, as also of that of the pamphlets and journals with which you have been pleased to accompany them.

“ I am sorry you should have found it necessary to preserve silence, upon certain points in my last letter. My discretion will know how to interpret that silence. I owe it to the personal kindness which you have hitherto shewn me, not to return to the subject any more. I have written to M. the Cardinal Fesch, agreeably to a passage in your letter, that he may send by the way he shall think most proper, the sequel of the *Moniteurs*, reckoning from 1808, addressed to the office of Lord Bathurst in London ; that his Lordship allows their transmission to St. Helena.

“ As to the passage of your letter, Sir, concerning the request which I had the honour to make to you, for a regular bulletin of the health of Napoleon in the name, and on the behalf of the members of his family, may I be permitted to pray you will observe to my Lord Bathurst, that the whole of the family of the Emperor are not at Rome ; that he has one sister and her family at Frankfort ; a brother and his family in Austria ; two other sisters and their families in the vicinity of Vienna and Trieste ; without reckoning others, all of whom would esteem it the greatest favour, and would consider it a real gratification to their heart, should the sentiments which induced Lord Bathurst to send

regular accounts to Rome, induce him condescendingly to allow ~~of their~~ being regularly transmitted to them also. I was not ignorant of the gratification which had been hitherto procured for the Princess Borghese; but it did not extend from Rome to all the members of the family in Germany, where the route was then much more circuitous than that which I had the honour to request. Whatsoever title and right my heart might give me, perhaps, to solicit for myself a part of this bulletin, I shall learn to renounce entirely and put myself completely aside; and not doubting but that the favour will be more highly appreciated by those for whom I solicit it, if it should come directly from Lord Bathurst, rather than pass through my hands, I shall solicit therefore anew, and in the name of the Countess of Survilliers (the Princess Joseph Bonaparte), who resides in this city, that he will have the goodness to send to her regularly the same accounts which he has the goodness to address to the Princess Borghese at Rome. The Countess of Survilliers will undertake to communicate them to all the family in Germany.

“ Sir, I have learned from the public journals, the unexpected return of General Gourgaud. This sensible diminution of the household of Napoleon, this new privation of one servant more, penetrates my heart, and has determined me to pray that you will please to request of Lord Bathurst to allow me to return to Saint Helena, accompanied by my family. This intention and this desire will never forsake me, as his Lordship may convince himself in the whole of my correspondence with Sir Hudson Lowe, from the moment of my quitting the colony. I do not think it would be necessary to demand the previous consent of the Emperor Napoleon to this request, because I dare flatter myself that his answer would not be doubtful. However if Lord Bathurst should deem it necessary, I entreat his Lordship will make the demand himself: he will see in my letter to Longwood I have ~~abstained~~ from mentioning this circumstance. Considerations of delicacy, which his Lordship will know how to appreciate, have ~~restrained~~ me. The deplorable state of my health will be no obstacle. I am ambitious to go, and find a tomb at the feet of

him whom I venerate, and to whose care I shall find it sweet to consecrate the last breath of my life.

"Accept, Sir, the expressions of the perfect consideration, &c. &c.

"COUNT LAS CASES."

I lost not a moment, on the receipt of the documents sent by Count Bertrand, in despatching a copy of them to each of the Sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle. I took this opportunity to renew my entreaties. I implored them to succour the illustrious victim. "A few days more," said I, "and "it will be too late." The physician whom they had snatched away from him, (an Englishman,) declared publicly in London that a much longer residence upon that unwholesome rock would cause his death. I ventured to represent to them that their humanity, the sentiments of their heart might be arrested perhaps by formal denials, but would not their justice listen to the other side of the question? I demanded that I might be allowed to furnish them with it. I solicited the sole favour of appearing in the interest of this sacred cause; "consenting," I said, "if I did not "prove the truth of the documents laid at their "feet, that my shame and my blood should expiate my offence in having dared to impose upon "them."—At the same time I did not lose one opportunity, one instant, one thought, which might have multiplied the chances of any success. I addressed myself to every one, who, I learned, had any influence over the hearts of the Monarchs. I

wrote particularly to M. de la Harpe, the tutor of the Emperor Alexander, so known, so venerated, who I had been told was at that moment with him at Aix-la-Chapelle.—

“SIR,—It has been communicated to me, and I am assured that you have deigned to take some interest in my situation, in the constancy and efforts of that sentiment, which has caused it and continues it. This generous emotion ought not to surprise me. Nothing that is noble, great, humane and philanthropic, could in my mind be strange in M. de la Harpe. He is known to all the world by the doctrines which he has taught and which he found only in himself.—

“Sir, it will therefore be in the persuasion of the interest which appears to have touched you, that I shall address myself to you in perfect confidence. I am assured that the first papers which I addressed in Europe, touching the holy cause to which I have devoted myself, to the last breath of my life, have been communicated to you. I dare to take the liberty of adding here a little supplement, in the hope of assisting, with powerful motives, the intentions, perhaps the efforts, of your kind heart.

“I had a pamphlet of observations, made on the rock itself, and of the dictation of the illustrious victim; besides a circumstantial relation of every thing that happened from our departure from Paris, up to the moment when I was snatched from the fatal isle. These two documents, Sir, will be delivered to you at Aix-la-Chapelle. You will find in them the latest details which have reached me. They will prove to you, that ill treatment, outrages and barbarity, increase instead of diminish. You will be touched by them; I am certain of it: and you would touch *whomsoever* you may discourse with on the subject. Who upon the earth could remain insensible to such facts, to such a spectacle? I will add, that the victim is attacked with a liver complaint; that this complaint is speedily mortal in the place, and under the climate to which he is condemned. It is worthy of you, Sir, to put in motion the virtues which you have created. The

heart which you have adorned could not be shut against you. You have too well implanted the ideas of the good, the just, the magnanimous, for these glorious qualities to deny themselves so meritorious and so glorious an application; and what more worthy, more noble, or more grand occasion, can ever present itself? Whatever may be the condition of the mind and heart of the august object solicited, nothing but glory lies in his attention and his sympathy. If he should recollect an old friendship, if he still retains affection, nothing is more sweet, and never did a more moral spectacle present itself to the eyes of nations. If he hates, nothing is more grand, nor more magnanimous.

“ This royal interest appears all that remains to complete his immortal crown. His splendid history expects it and solicits it. But is it fit for me to tell you so? What is there generous that I could conceive, which would be new to you; or in fact to him whose character shines, to do him justice, both in the public annals and the private acts of our affairs and of our times?

“ I have had the honour to write directly upon this subject. But will my letter reach the august person to whom I have presumed to address it? I send you a copy of it, that you may remedy it, should there be occasion. It will explain to you better than I can express it, the nature of my cares, of my wishes, of my efforts, of my hopes. You will there see that politics are foreign to all my thoughts; that humanity, morality, and the affections of the heart are all that animates me, all that I pursue and invoke. These sentiments are calculated to be welcomed by you, and well received by him whose feet I wish them to reach. I am authorized by the claims which they must have upon your heart, to entreat you to assist me in attaining what I hope from them, or to guide me in a better way, if it exist, to obtain a hearing. Respect prevents me from availing myself of the favourable circumstance to seek a personal interview; but if I should learn that it was not impossible to be admitted to so august a presence, I would hasten thither with

joy and confidence, notwithstanding my feeble and decaying state. All business is interdicted me. The pains of my head do not allow any continued occupation ; and this is my most grievous torment. My heart is full of the sentiments and impulses, which it is become impossible for me to put in practice.

“ Deign to accept, &c.

“ COUNT LAS CASES.”

Neither upon this occasion, nor any other, have I ever had the slightest answer to any one of my letters ; and if any thing has been sometimes insinuated to me indirectly and with mystery, I was obliged to suspect it as a snare laid against my person, which was of small moment ; or against my cause, which was every thing to me. Thus the Congress ended, and not a word escaped from it in favour of Napoleon. In fine, I sought to stimulate even foreign talents ; and in the number of voices then raised, the pamphlet of a certain German journalist attracted sufficient attention, to serve for a pretext to devise trammels for the liberty of the press.

However, all the efforts which I had called forth were vain, all my cares were lost . . . . and they left him to die ! . . . . In fact, what could the bare truth avail with sovereigns, without the protection of any address, or the alliance of any interests, against the insinuations of wicked men, who watched with all the ardour of political fanaticism, private resentments, and eventual apprehensions. They acted so effectually, that in the council

of kings, fear, no doubt, prevailed over generosity. They demonstrated how dangerous universal interest rendered the victim: and it may be truly said, to the glory of generous sentiments, that public opinion was pronounced every where with great warmth; not less in Germany, than in any other country. And, perhaps, in the sight of the high personages who were witnesses of it, this benevolent opinion did a great deal of mischief to him whom it meant to serve; as if it had been in the destiny of Napoleon, that the interest of the Germans should become as baneful to him in adversity, as their animosity had been fatal to him in the time of his power. —Amongst the efforts to maintain the hideous captivity of Napoleon, there has been actually imputed to the English Ministers, a base intrigue, an unworthy deception. It was said, that to confirm the wavering Sovereigns, they had forged for the express purpose, a pretended plot of escape. The imputation was founded upon the timeliness, éclat, and publicity, with which the arrival of the *Musquito* brig suddenly caused this news to spread through all Europe; a circumstance, which after it had once produced the intended effect, that of counterbalancing the public favour, gave room to no further mention, to no detail, to no confirmation whatsoever; an imaginary conjecture, no doubt, and in which the English Ministers are probably culpable, only in having afforded ground

for suspecting them of it, by the numerous antecedent cases in which they degraded themselves in acting against Napoleon.

To my chagrin was further added, the fear of seeing old persecutions revived against me, in my peaceful solitude. The spring of 1819 was approaching. The excellent Grand Duke of Baden happened to die. Those who did not like us, became stronger by this event, and it was signified to me, without the knowledge of the new sovereign perhaps, that I must quit the States of Baden. The order was given to me only verbally, and I was even informed that I should receive it in no other way. The motive for my removal, it was said, was the desire to live in close friendship with France, and the fear that my stay would be disagreeable to her; a motive that must excite a smile of pity. I disdained to say that the French Minister had thought fit to leave me in repose; the intolerance of opinion had discovered another motive to the full as ridiculous. The person charged with the order against me, was very willing to grant me some days for preparation, but I was nearly like the Greek philosopher, who carried his all upon his own person; and I would have set out at the very instant of the notification itself, if Madame Las Cases had not been afflicted with a defluxion on the chest, which placed her in great danger. I assured him, that I should only allow myself time to see her out of danger; and al-



though they gave me the well-meant advice to solicit Government for permission to remain, I still disdained it ; and in a few days after, I set out on my route for Offenbach, where Madame Las Cases was to join me, when she should be in a state to travel.

If I felt myself so much hurt by this unexpected treatment, it is because I had already forgotten all the vexations with which I had been overwhelmed by the English authorities, and that for more than a year, during which I lived upon the German soil, I was not subjected to such forms ; but, on the contrary, I was spoiled by the favour, the interest, the respect, of which I every where saw myself the object, even among those of a contrary opinion ; and besides, on leaving Mannheim, I was far from being embarrassed for a new residence : some friends, in their kind precautions, had sounded some neighbouring governments ; I was assured of a favourable reception in several. One of the princes addressed upon the occasion, answered, with a smile, “ Yes ; no doubt, he should “ be well received and well treated. Far from repulsing a man of this character, a prince who “ understood his own interest, should have his “ courtiers vaccinated from him.” However, in expatiating here so freely upon my success, I must not disguise my disappointments. Now and then I had also my little mortifications. All was not roses ; and without reckoning the expulsion from

Manheim, for example, of which I was speaking, they found great fault, in another place, with the respect shewn to me, being, they said, one of those wretches who had arrested the king of France at Varennes; and who more lately had done, perhaps, still worse. In another place, a baron who gave a grand *soiree*, informed his guests that he had at length ascertained who this Count and counsellor of Napoleon, whose arrival had made so great a noise in the city, was. He was, he informed them, nothing but his cook from St. Helena; and that not having means to pay him his wages at parting, he had, as a compensation, created him a Count and Counsellor of State. If the Baron believed what he said, he was assuredly a good easy man, and if his object was only to make his guests believe it, he must have taken them for great simpletons. The pleasant part of the story remains, for we must tell the whole; and it is, that, in fact, the cook from Longwood had passed through a few days before: and thus it appears how anecdotes and the biographies of the saloon are engendered and multiply; and the devil himself cannot afterwards eradicate them. I could smile at the wickedness or the stupidity. Their acts and their words were only ridiculous and grotesque; but a circumstance of an important nature presented itself, which would have distressed me excessively, if I did not know how much the mass of error, which presses round sovereigns, may impair the soundness of their judg-

ment. I was assured that some one at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, finding himself disposed, in the presence of the Emperor Alexander, to touch upon the frightful situation of Napoleon, and citing the authentic statements produced by me in his support, that Prince answered, "We must not believe all that this man is come to tell us in Europe; he is an intriguer." How is it that the most enlightened princes are deceived; even those from whom we should expect better? Unless it was here, as with Napoleon, who often used peevish expressions, after his own manner, and not implying harm; and besides, by good fortune, I have still on my side, time, that true crucible of characters. Years have since elapsed, and the unanimous opinion, I dare to hope, of all those who have known or followed me, would sufficiently clear me from such an accusation. "An intriguer!" I, who have worn out upon a rock all the vanities of this world! I, who in the clouds of Longwood, have seen all things from so great a height, that they remain small indeed to my eyes! I, who of all people on earth, know nothing to desire. I, in fine, who, no longer considering myself of this world, cannot have, and in fact have no other ambition whatever, no other wish than that of Diogenes—"that they would not stand between me and the sun."

FROM MY ARRIVAL AT OFFENBACH, UP TO  
MY RETURN TO FRANCE.

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A Space of more than Two Years.

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*Residence at Offenbach.—Detail. — Arrival of Madame Montholon in Europe.—Journey to Brussels.—Residence at Liege, at Chaude-Fontaine, at Sohan near Spa, at Antwerp, at Malines.—Death of Napoleon.—Return to France.—Conclusion.*

OFFENBACH is a handsome little town of the Grand Duchy of Darmstadt, situate upon the Maine, two leagues from Frankfort. I settled myself there, according to my custom, in a sort of little hermitage. It was upon the bank of the river, within a step of the town.

My headaches, under their different symptoms, had never quitted me. At Manheim I suffered very acute pains. A short time after my arrival at Offenbach, my illness suddenly assumed a character new, insupportable, and alarming. It was then that an universal indisposition, an increasing debility, commenced, which, preventing the employment of all the faculties, brought with them the complete disgust of life; then also commenced that sudden trembling in my limbs and in my whole frame; those sudden visits of dimness of

sight, which I might call the twinkling of existence. How often in this state, and without taking any notice of it, have I gone to bed with the thought, I had almost said the hope, of awaking no more. Madame Las Cases, in the excess of her anxiety, wished that I should give up every kind of occupation whatever, of which, in fact, I was absolutely incapable; she suppressed my letters, and wrote to the relatives of the Emperor, to apprise them of my real situation, and prevail upon them to appoint a successor to me in the cares which I had created for myself. For a long time past, as a precaution, I myself had entreated them to join with me a person whose happiness it would have constituted, and the choice of whom would have been agreeable to the Emperor.\* He was then with one of them; but, from one cause or another, this was not done, and necessity compelled me to break off without any provision having been made to supply the deficiency. I exhausted in vain all the aid of medicine; and, if the domestic cares, the tender solicitude which surrounded me on every side, could have availed, my illness would have been only a blessing, from the pleasure of seeing them lavished upon me. One loves to dwell upon that which was sweet, and I could

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\* Colonel Planat, officer in waiting, who had accompanied us as far as Plymouth, and who had lately obtained leave to repair to St. Helena himself.

not assuredly better describe the great interest felt for me, and the nature of the recompense which the sentiments I had shewn, the efforts which I had made, had obtained for me, than when I say, my little hermitage has been honoured with the presence of three Queens, and, I think, on the same day: two of them, it is true, had been deposed; but they did not the less command every where at that moment, by the elevation of their minds, the simplicity of their manners, the eclat of their other qualities, an universal respect, at least, as much as at the era of their greatest splendour.

It was at Offenbach that the little colony, which Cardinal Fesch was sending to St. Helena, was addressed to me on its way to that place. It consisted of an almoner, a surgeon, a physician, and a valet de chambre; all chosen by the Cardinal. Upon my arrival in Europe, I had written to him, to be assured that to send a priest, capable also of writing to dictation, and of assisting a little in business, would be very agreeable to the Emperor; and I had employed his intermediation, to interest, for that purpose, the conscience of the Holy Father, who, in fact, demanded it of the English Ministers, who had hitherto opposed the measure, or attached to it inadmissible conditions. It was also from Offenbach, I despatched to Longwood two charming portraits: one, the young Napoleon, painted from the life in the same year, and sent by King Jerome;

the other was that of the Empress Josephine, by Sain, a present from the Queen Hortense. It was mounted in a magnificent tea-caddy, of crystal. This choice of crystal was a delicate precaution of the Queen, who also had the mounting executed in a manner to render it impossible to suspect any concealment of writing. The former of these two portraits reached its destination. The valet de chambre of the Emperor has since told me, that Napoleon, on perceiving it, seized it with avidity and kissed it. I, who know how reserved the Emperor was, can judge from thence the whole extent of his joy and satisfaction. As to the portrait of the Empress Josephine, it never arrived at Longwood, although, by a singular contrariety, it was found, in consequence of some memorandum, to have paid the custom-house fees of its importation into England.

Towards the end of the summer, Madame Las Cases, by order of the physicians, carried me to the waters of Schwalbach, where I was an object of pity to every one. I returned without having derived any benefit from them; but a circumstance then revived my strength for an instant, and caused me to quit Germany.

All of a sudden I learnt from the public papers the return of Madame Montholon to Europe; she had been, like myself, repulsed from England, and landed at Ostend. I was not able to resist going to seek authentic details, of which I had so long been

deprived. I hastened to rejoin her, whether she should be permitted to stay in the country, or should be forced, after my example, to run up and down the highways, for in that case I should be useful to her ; I had experience.

Travelling with mystery, for I remembered too well all the ill treatment I formerly received in the Netherlands, I joined Madame the Countess of Montholon, at Brussels. Not only was she free to reside there, but she had been received with the most particular respect ; and a journal of the place having announced that she would be obliged to continue her route, a semi-official article refuted this news, sustaining itself upon this ground especially, that the Netherlands were the *land of hospitality*. I wanted no more ; Belgium appeared to me nearly as France ; in the midst of the Belgians, I should think myself among my countrymen. I wrote, therefore, to Madame Las Cases our good fortune, that she might hasten to come and join me ; and shunning Brussels for the same reasons which had made me leave Frankfort, I chose Liege ; remembering the tender reception which I had there experienced, at the time of my unfortunate passage, eighteen months before ; and I settled there not without apprehension of some new ill luck. But I was in the wrong ; for, I must with truth and gratitude say, that during nearly two years and a half that I have since traversed the country in all directions without any



request, any solicitation, not even a previous announcement, that country, formerly so baneful to me, has ever since been the land of hospitality ; never having afterwards had occasion to perceive any authority whatever, otherwise than by the tranquillity, the repose, which I enjoyed under its shade.

Influence and foreign malice had ceased ; it was at this time that my son requested leave, anew, and on his own account, to return to Longwood. I have the answer of Lord Bathurst, who refused it. Subsequently, the Princess Pauline, who succeeded in obtaining leave to repair thither, wrote to me to know if my son wished to accompany her : but then, alas ! it was too late . . . .

Neither the affection nor the care of my friends at Liege, where I remained the whole winter ; nor the rural situation of Chaude-Fontaine, where I spent the spring ; nor the generous hospitality of the worthy and good proprietor of the charming place of Justlanville, who forced me to accept for the summer, at a few steps from him, the dwelling of Johan, at the gates of Spa and of Verviers ; nor the benevolence of all his family, so numerous, so kind, so respected in the country ; were able to ameliorate my condition, or fix my stay ; and yet it would be difficult for me to describe, as they deserve, the extreme benevolence, the touching dispositions, the sympathetic spirit, of the whole population of these countries, so prosper-

ous, so rich, so flourishing, under the imperial reign, and continuing so grateful.

How often, in my solitary walks, the country people, the artisans, returning, after having crossed me, have exclaimed, *Long live good friends and fidelity!* Sweet words, which stirred the heart. How often, if we wanted some pulse, or other such articles, have we not been obliged, with the poorest of these people, to have them brought in the name of some neighbour, because to us they would be willing only to *give* them. How many traits of this kind I could cite, and how many of another nature too! But I abridge as much as I can; I write in haste: moreover, I feel myself embarrassed at finding myself alone in the scene; and yet I do not like to leave a gap; this should be, on my part, a sort of settled account. I spent my second winter at Antwerp, with some sincere friends whom I tenderly love, and whom my arrival on the expedition to Flushing, ten years before, had produced for me; and in the spring I reached Malines without any particular motive; for I was not able to remain a long time in the same place. I stood in need of change. I was the patient who agitates himself, and turns in his bed, seeking in vain the sweets of sleep. Twice, during the two years in Belgium, Madame Las Cases wished to take me to the south; and twice, at the very moment of setting out, imperative circumstances happened to stop us:—disappointments, however,

which were to us so many real favours of fortune, But for the first of them, we should have found ourselves advanced a day's journey within the frontier, at the very moment of a fatal and sanguinary catastrophe; and, but for the second, we should have arrived at Nice precisely at the moment of the constitutional explosion at Piedmont; and no doubt that in both cases, and naturally enough, we should have been subjected to at least temporary inconvenience.

Meanwhile the Congress of Laybach was held, and I could not refrain from attempting new solicitations. I addressed a new letter to each of the three high Sovereigns. The following is that to the Emperor Alexander:—

“SIRE,—A new solemn occasion presents itself for preferring to your Majesty my humble and respectful accents. I seize it anew with eagerness.

“I am little afraid of rendering myself importunate: my excuse and my pardon are in the generosity of your soul.

“Sire, to recall, at this moment, to your recollection, and to that of your high Allies, the august captive, whom you, a long time, called your brother and your friend; to seek to divert your thoughts and theirs to that victim whose cruel suffering is always present to me; this is, I know it, to make the knell of death heard amidst joy and feasting. But therein, Sire, I trust, in the eyes of your Majesty yourself, I fulfil an honour-

able and pious duty, the performance of which must remain always sweet to me, however perilous it may be ! . . . .

“Sire,—reduced to a state of infirmity and weakness which leaves me scarcely able to connect a few ideas, I follow the instinct of my heart in default of the faculties of my head, in contenting myself with reproducing literally here to your Majesty, the note which I presumed to address to you at Aix-la-Chapelle; for the circumstances having remained the same, no change having since taken place in that respect, what could I do better than to replace under the eyes of your Majesty, the same picture, the same facts, the same reasoning, the same truths.

“Only, if in despite of that which I then thought was certain, the illustrious victim, contrary to my expectation and that of the faculty, still breathes; if he has not yet fallen, I shall dare to observe to your Majesty, that this unexpected prolongation of his life, which has been to him only a continuation of his torment, is perhaps, to your Majesty, a blessing from heaven, which Providence reserves for your heart and for your memory . . . . Ah! Sire, there is then time still! . . . . But the precious moment may at any moment escape from *all your power!* . . . . And what would be then the tardy, impotent regrets which could neither assuage your heart, nor restore for your memory an act magnanimous, generous—that of glory, the





THE DEATH OF THE KING

THE DEATH OF THE KING

sweetest, the most moral, the most commendable to posterity, the best understood, perhaps, with which you could have embellished your glorious life? I mean oblivion of injuries, disdain of vengeance, remembrance of old friendship; in fine, the respect due to royal majesty—to *one of the Lord's anointed!!!*

Sire,—since my return to Europe, separated from the society of men, a prey to hopeless sufferings derived at Saint Helena itself, belonging for the future and unalterably much more to another life than to this, I ardently raise every day in my retreat, my hands to the Almighty, praying that he will deign to touch the heart of your Majesty, and to enlighten it upon so essential a part of its interests and its glory.

“ I am, &c.\*

“ COUNT DE LAS CASES.”

What prophecies in so many of these lines! Alas, they were scarcely under the eyes of the monarchs when he was no more! . . . . He had ceased to live, to suffer! . . . . On opening the *Moniteur*, I found there the fatal announcement. Though it could not surprise me, having been a long time certain to my understanding, I was not the less struck, overcome as at an unexpected event that was never to happen.

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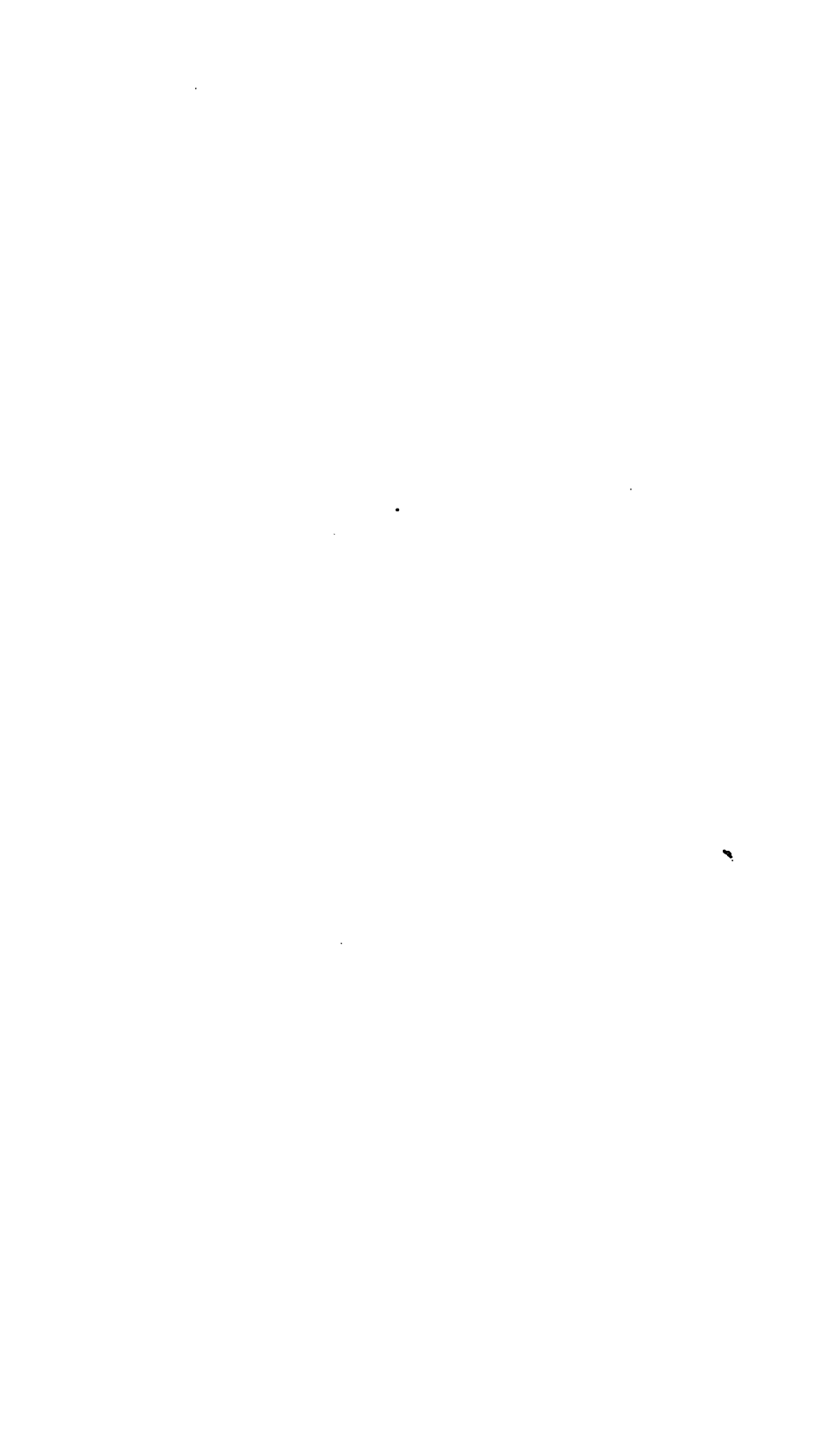
\* A similar letter was addressed to the other Allied Sovereigns, with slight appropriate alterations.

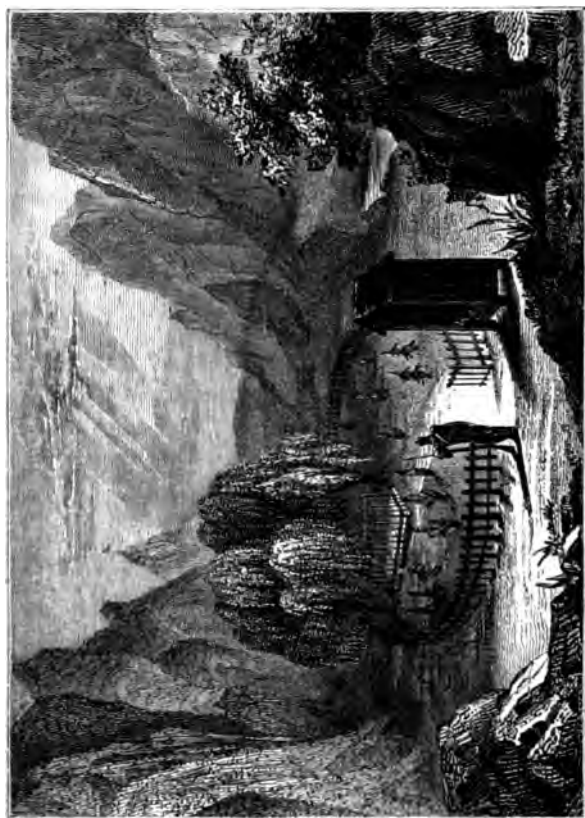
The next day I received a melancholy letter, with circumstantial details, and conjectures for which these details might have furnished matter; and this letter terminated by saying, "It was on the fifth of May, at six o'clock in the evening, at the very instant when the cannon was announcing the setting of the sun, that his great soul quitted the earth." . . . .

On the report of the death of Napoleon, it must, however, be said, that there was but one single cry, the one same sentiment in the streets, in the shops, in the public places; even the saloons shewed some feeling; the cabinets alone shewed themselves insensible: shall I say insensible? . . . . But, after all, it was natural, they breathed, at length, at their ease. . . .

During his life, in the time of his power, he had been assailed with pamphlets and libels; on his death, we were suddenly inundated with productions in his praise—a contrast, nevertheless, that gives a little relief from so much meanness of the human heart. There were every where, and from all parts, compositions in prose and in verse, paintings, portraits, pictures, lithographies, and a thousand little things more or less ingenious, proving much better than all the pomp of kings could do, the sincerity, the extent, the vivacity of the sentiments which he left behind him. A curé, on the banks of the Rhine, the place of whose residence had received some particular favours from







THE TOMB OF NAPOLEON.

London. Published for Henry Colburn, February, 1841.

the Emperor, assembled his parishioners, and made them pray for their old benefactor. In a large city of Belgium, a great number of citizens subscribed for a solemn funeral service, and if they abstained from the performance of it, it was much more from etiquette than in consequence of any interdict. Then these words of Napoleon, which I have often heard him repeat, were verified:—"In course of time, nothing will be thought so fine nor seize the attention so much, as the doing of justice to me. . . . I shall gain ground every day on the minds of the people. My name will become the star of their rights; it will be the expression of their regrets." And all these circumstances are verified in every country and every where. Without reckoning things of this kind, of which I am no doubt unaware, a peer of Great Britain shortly after said in open Parliament, "That the very persons who detested this great man, have acknowledged at for ten centuries there had not appeared upon earth a more extraordinary character. All Europe," added he, "has worn mourning for the hero; and those who have contributed to that great sacrifice, are devoted to the execrations of the present generation as well as to those of posterity."\*

Two German professors, whether they had always known his real character, or that they had

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\* Speech of Lord Holland. *Pilot* of the 3d of August, 1822. }

been cured of their national prejudices, have erected upon their grounds a monument to his memory, with some inscriptions, indicating that, with him, fell a funereal veil over the rights of the people, and the ascendant impulse of civilization.

Our writers have defended his memory, our poets have celebrated it, and our orators, in the legislative tribunal, have proclaimed aloud the attachment which they had felt for him, or that they are honoured by the distinctions which they had received from him.

Nothing remained for me but to return to my country. In crossing the frontier, at the end of this second emigration, I could not avoid thinking on the circumstances of my return after the first, and what a difference of sentiment distinguished them ! Then I seemed, at every step, to advance amidst a hostile population ; now I felt as if I was entering into my family. I soon beheld again all my companions of Longwood, and, while embracing them, I could not deny myself one melancholy reflection—we were all met again ; but he for whom we had sought the fatal rock, he alone remained there ! . . . . and I recollected that he had told us it would be so, and many other things besides. I learned from all these eyewitnesses the details and the circumstances of the ill treatment, which, since my departure, had been daily increasing ; and I saw that the times which I had known had not even been the most unhappy moments.



STATUE OF NAPOLEON  
ON THE COLUMN OF THE PLACE VENDÔME.

London. Published for HENRY COLEBURN, Decemr. 1811.

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I read his last will ; I there found my name, three or four times, in his own hand ! . . . What were my emotions ! . . . Assuredly I did not stand in need of them for my reward. For a long time I have carried it within my breast. But the remembrances, however, were dear and sweet ! . . . How much more precious were they to me than millions ! And yet he joined to them large sums from those of his family who were most nearly connected with him, and were dearest to him. If they ever pay them, so much the better ; that will concern them hereafter more than me. . . . I should have liked to consider myself only as a kind of a depositary. I even wished to anticipate them, but I found it necessary to stop : my means did not allow me to make these advances. My happiness would have been great in affording a retirement to a few civil and military veterans. In our long evenings, we should have often spoken of his battles or discoursed of his heart.

At last, I received, (thanks to the zealous interposition of one of the finest characters of the English peerage !) the papers which had been detained from me at St. Helena ; and which, in spite of all the strength of the laws, I no longer reckoned upon. In the situation in which I found myself, with the sentiments with which it had inspired me, I felt myself under the indispensable obligation to assist, since I had some means to do it, in making better known him who had been so much misre-

presented; and in spite of my infirmity, I set about the work. Heaven has blessed my efforts in permitting me to reach the end, and to finish it, however ill: this I have the happiness to do at this instant. If I have succeeded in reconciling hearts, if I have destroyed prejudices, conquered prepossessions, I have obtained my dearest, my sweetest object; my mission is accomplished.

*Passy, August 15, 1823.*

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N. B. It has not been thought necessary to give an Index of the particular Contents of this Eighth Part. The articles in it following in succession and not being interrupted, as in the preceding, the Table of Chapters, at the commencement, appeared sufficient.

END OF THE EIGHTH AND LAST PART.













